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A HISTORY OF IOSEPA,  
THE UTAH POLYNESIAN COLONY

A Thesis

Presented to  
the Department of History  
Brigham Young University  
Provo, Utah

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts in History

by

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This thesis by Dennis H. Atkin is accepted in its present form by the Department of History of the Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Date August 18, 1958

Signed:

Paul V. Hyer  
Chairman

Robert E. Riggs

## PREFACE

It was not until about a year ago that I was first made aware of the fact that there had been a Polynesian Colony in Utah. Very little has been written about this unique settlement and because of the lack of sufficient sources, many mistaken ideas and misconceptions have arisen. New sources made available recently have made it possible for this study to correct many of the mistaken ideas held in regard to Iosepa as well as fill in some gaps in its history. Probably the most important source is not yet available. The First Presidency, who received the reports of this mission branch, have not yet released them to the public. If and when these records become available, another history of Iosepa may well need to be written.

Public documents, articles, and newspaper clippings have been important in this study, but more important have been personal interviews with those connected with the colony and the diary of Harvey H. Cluff. While diaries and reminiscences are subject to human error more often than other sources, it is the opinion of the author that those used in this study are reliable. Many items have been verified by two or more sources. It is unfortunate that some of the Hawaiians did not keep diaries while in Iosepa. Contemporary Hawaiian comment about the colony and conditions in Utah as they interpreted them would have been valuable.



I would like to thank all those who have helped me in the preparation of this work. William A. Lund, assistant Church Historian, and the librarians at the Church Historian's Office have been cooperative and helpful. Thomas A. Waddoups has given freely of his time in relating details concerning the colony, correcting the spelling of Hawaiian names and in reading and correcting the rough draft. Edwin Kamaueha, who interested me in the project, has been helpful in interviewing former Iosepa residents now living in the Islands. Those interviewed gave important information and offered constructive suggestions after reading the rough draft.

Dr. Poll and Professor Hyer of the History Department and Dr. Melville and Dr. Riggs of the Political Science Department of the Brigham Young University have spent much time in reading and correcting this thesis and have given many valuable suggestions. Last, but not least, I have appreciated the sustaining help and encouragement of my wife.

August 16, 1958  
Provo, Utah

Dennis H. Atkin

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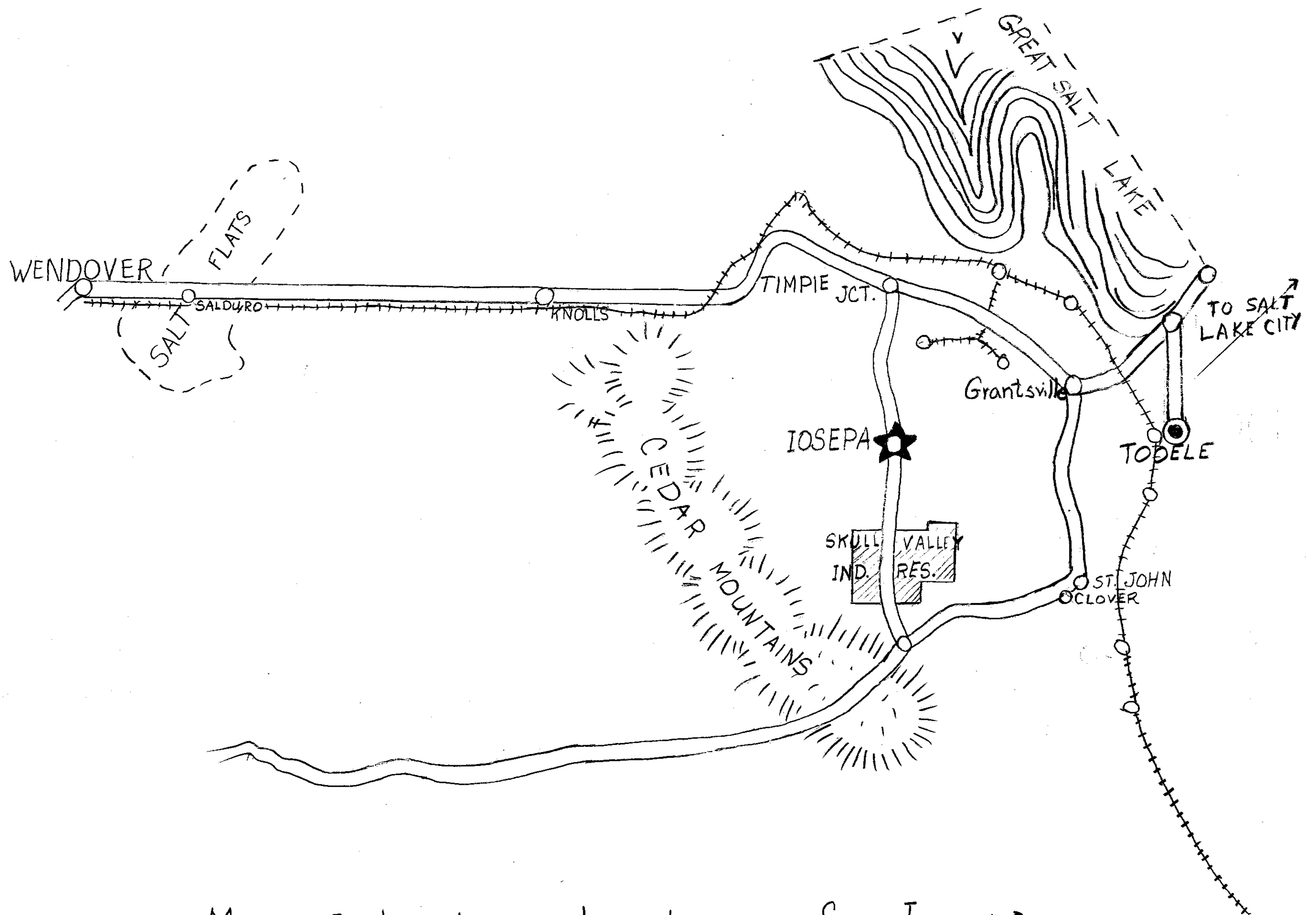


## INTRODUCTION

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is well known in the annals of western United States history for its colonization ventures. Many of the communities of the Great Basin were colonized and fostered by the Church. Brigham Young, second president of the Church, was largely responsible for the selection of the sites and the initial personnel of these settlements. For this he has gained an enviable reputation as a colonizer. Today the historian remembers him more for his colonization efforts than as an ecclesiastical leader. So successful were the settlements inaugurated by him that some of the few colonization efforts carried on by the Church since his death have been ignored.

One such settlement was the Hawaiian colony established in Skull Valley, Tooele County, Utah, in 1889. Very little has been written about this colony, which is unique not only because of the Church's paternal interest in it, but its history is unparalleled in the settling of the West. Made up almost entirely of South Sea Islanders who became converted to the Church, this colony was presided over by one of their white brethren. The lands, cattle and equipment were held by a church-owned corporation, The Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company, which employed





Map Indicating Location of Iosepa

the natives for a given wage. The citizens of Iosepa<sup>1</sup> came to Utah to join in the great gathering movement<sup>2</sup> carried on by the Church during the first few decades of its existence.

The properties of the Iosepa Company, some seventy-five miles southwest of Salt Lake City, lies between the Cedar mountains and the Stansbury Range. Since 1917 it has been an integral part of the Desert Livestock Company. There remains little today to remind the casual observer of the historic role of this community. / Looking over the ruins where at the height of the colony 228 people lived,<sup>3</sup> one has difficulty imagining the activity which once took place there. On the townsite there are only two houses still being used as dwellings while two or three others serve as storage space. The old store building

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X<sup>1</sup>Iosepa, the name chosen for the new colony, is the Hawaiian word for Joseph. In 1854 Joseph F. Smith, a lad of fifteen went to the Hawaiian Islands as a missionary. The people with whom he labored called him "Iosepa." All through his life he helped the Hawaiians in every way possible. In 1880 he was sustained as second counselor in the First Presidency which position he held until 1901 when he was sustained as President of the Church. The colony was called Iosepa in his honor.

<sup>2</sup>"And it shall come to pass in the last days that the mountains of the Lord's house shall be established in the tops of the mountains and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of Jacob; and he will teach us of his ways and we will walk in his path" (Isa. 2:2-3) It is in fulfillment of this and other scripture, according to Mormon doctrine, that the converts from the various countries of the world have gathered to the Rocky Mountains. Soon after joining the Church, these converts gained a desire to go to Utah where they could be with a large body of others who believed as they did and where Temples were built in which necessary ordinances could be performed for themselves and their kindred dead.

X<sup>3</sup>Interview with Thomas A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958, Salt Lake City, Utah.



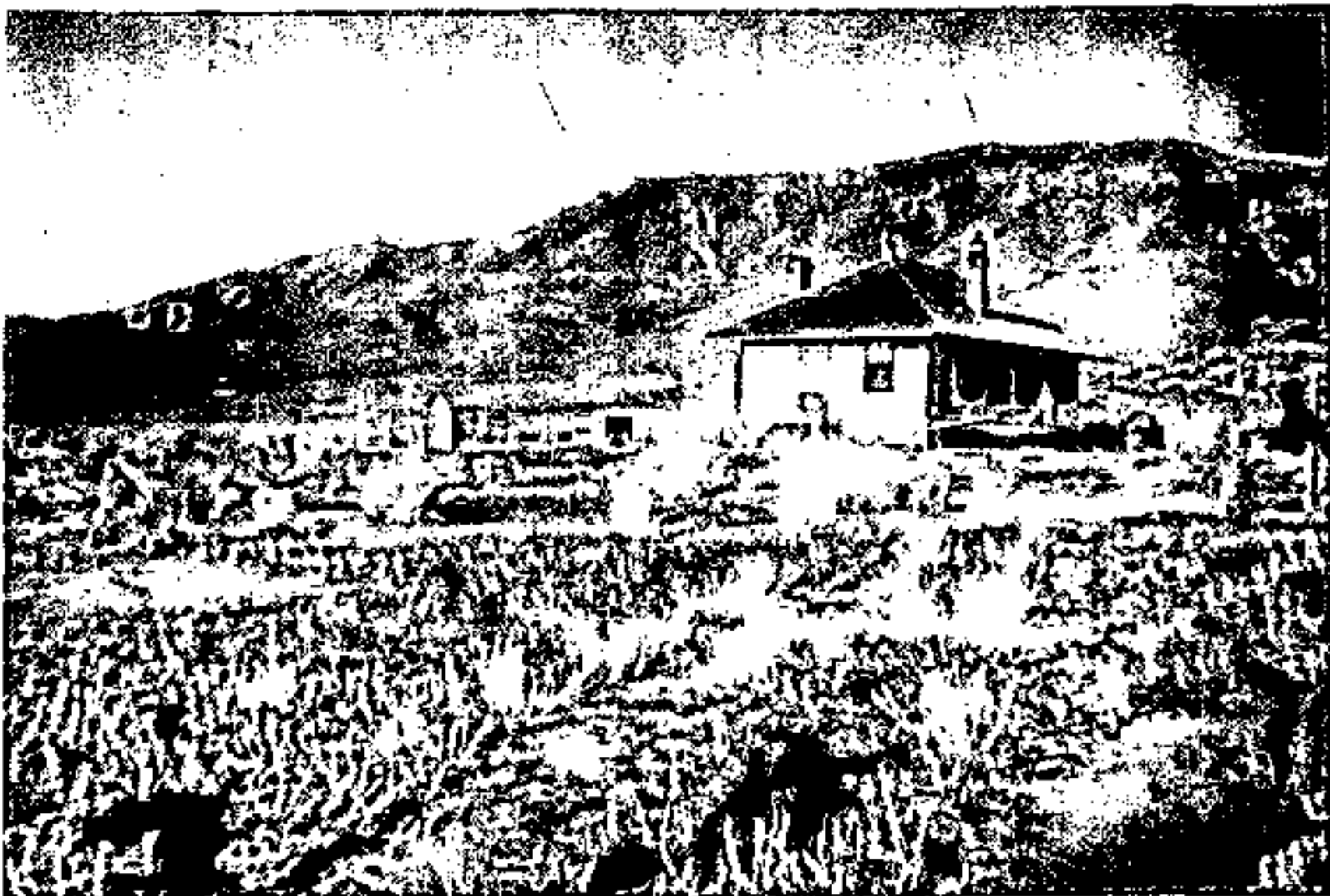
BUILDINGS REMAINING ON  
IOSEPA TOWNSITE



Old store house now used  
as a bunkhouse.



House occupied by assis-  
tant's family.



House on townsite still  
in use.



(now used as a bunkhouse) and the house that had been occupied by the assistant to the president and manager still remain. The house once used by the colony's president burned down a few years ago, but has since been rebuilt. Glancing around, one also sees a few rusty fire hydrants, holes in the ground that were once basements and some yellow roses that have weathered the ravages of nature for thirty years. Gone are the church house, the school house and most of the dwellings. All traces of Imilani Square, Honolulu and Laie Avenues, Kapukini and Makaula Streets and the other five avenues and seven streets have disappeared. The beautiful lawns, flower gardens and trees have all died and the land of the townsite has returned to desert.

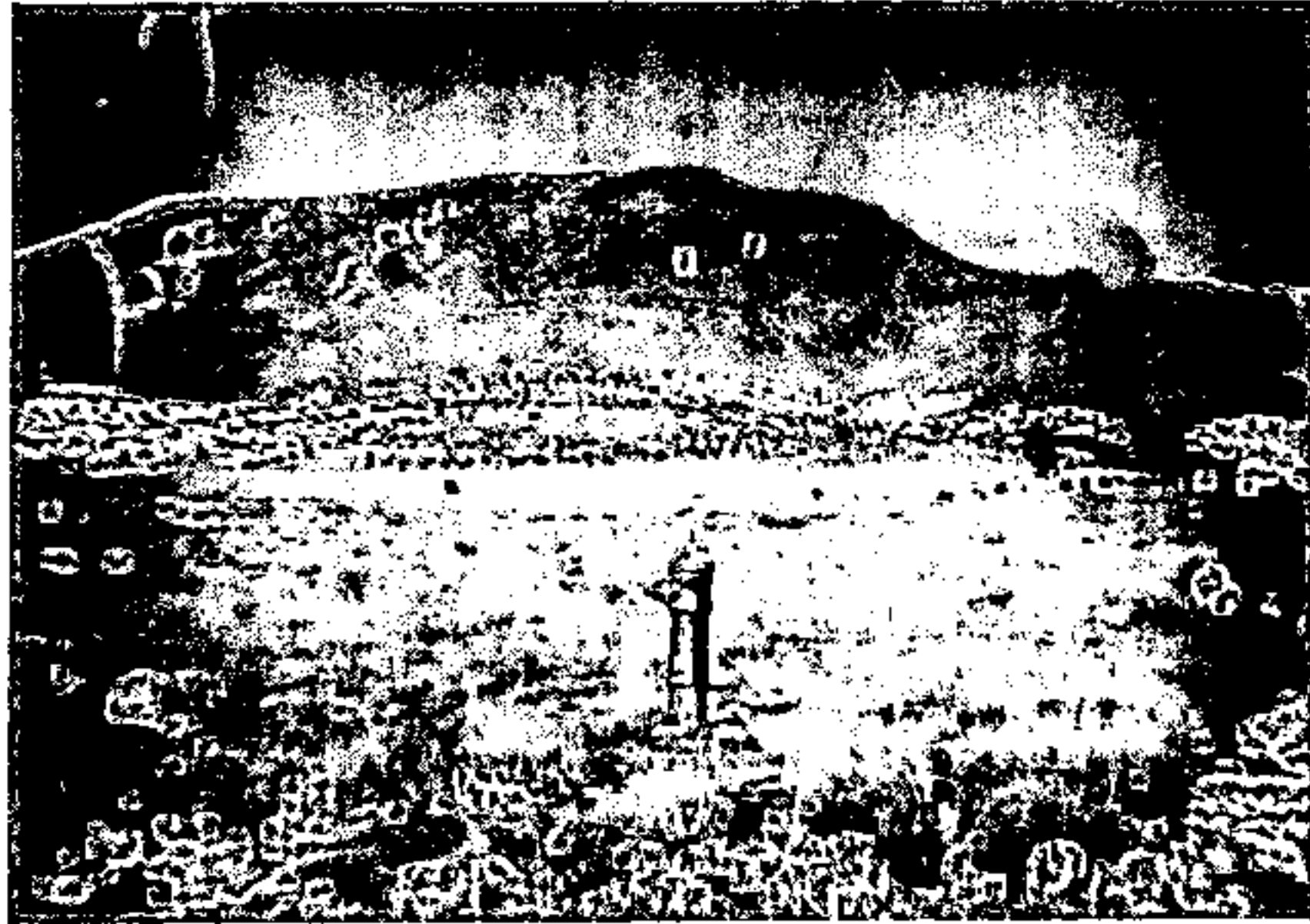
On a little rise to the northeast of the townsite is the cemetery. For years animals were free to come in and tip over grave markers and break down fences around individual graves to graze on the little grass that grew there. In recent years the owners of the Desert Livestock Company have thoughtfully built a strong fence around this graveyard that is the final resting place of approximately fifty Polynesians.<sup>4</sup> For a number of years the Hawaiian Club from the Brigham Young University went out once a year to clean it up, but the cemetery has recently fallen into disrepair.

If a casual tourist had found himself in Iosepa in 1914 or 1915, he would have observed a surprising scene. The colony

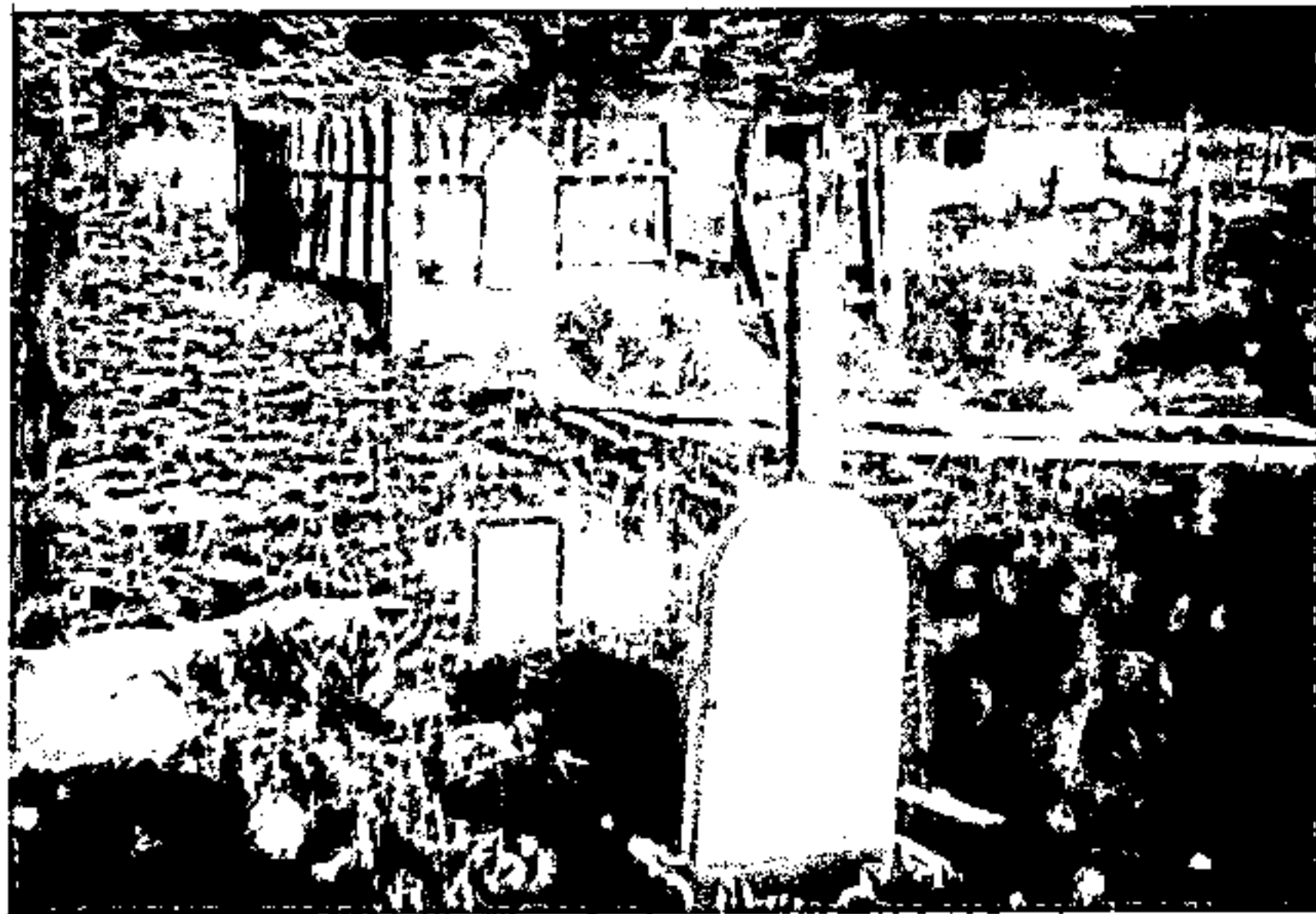
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<sup>4</sup>Ibid., April 30, 1958.

IOSEPA'S APPEARANCE TODAY AS EVIDENCED BY



A lonely fire hydrant.



Ruins in the cemetery, and



A tangle of hardy yellow  
rose bushes.



was unique in many ways. Composed almost entirely of natives from the Islands of the Pacific, the only permanent Caucasians residing there were the families of Thomas Anson Waddoups, president of the colony, his brother and assistant William Waddoups, and three white men who had married Samoan women.<sup>5</sup> Since the natives of the Hawaiian Islands were most numerous, Hawaiian customs were predominant. It would be erroneous, however, to imply that the colony was purely Hawaiian in its customs, dress and diet, as these had all been tempered by the conditions under which they lived and the customs of their neighbors. As the years passed there developed ways of doing things that were foreign to both the Islands and the nearby Utah communities.

The amalgamation of customs of the people already living in Utah and those brought by the Polynesians may readily be seen in their food, clothing and entertainment. The Hawaiians loved their native poi which, along with meat, comprised their staple food. Taro, from which poi is commonly made in the Islands, could not be grown in Utah so wheat flour was substituted. The Islanders were fond of pork and made certain that some was always available. As the years passed, the Hawaiian cooks acquired the art of making pies, puddings and cakes for which they became widely known. Though sea food was not available, its absence was filled by the carp which were planted in various ponds near the town. In dress they wore clothing, some

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.



of which was common in the islands, some common in Utah. During the hot summers, especially, the women were fond of their loose fitting muu-muu type dress. Everyone who had the opportunity of attending one of their entertainments thrilled to the music and dancing talents of the Hawaiians. Not only did they sing their native songs and dance their native dances, but they soon mastered the songs and dances of the area also. Their services as entertainers were sought by the surrounding communities where they were always enthusiastically received.

Iosepa was a happy, generally healthy community where food and fun were always plentiful. Problems did arise, however. They were isolated--the nearest railroad station was about forty-five miles away, and originally they had no telephone or mail service. There was no store, and some of the necessities of life were difficult to obtain until after the turn of the century when a store was established there by the Iosepa Company. Various illnesses and leprosy created problems at times during the existence of the colony. Gradually these problems were overcome until by about 1910 they were enjoying the bounties and better things of life as much as any Utah community of its size of the day.

By the spring of 1917, twenty-eight years after the founding of Iosepa, the experiment was at an end. All of the Hawaiians had left Iosepa, all but one family returning to the Islands. That fall the lands, cattle and improvements were sold to the Desert Livestock Company. Most of the buildings in the town were moved away or torn down and the materials reused.

Thus, the colony was disbanded, and soon all traces of its uniqueness disappeared. What caused these natives to leave their beautiful islands and come to Utah? Why did they go back? Was the venture successful? This is a story that must be told--a history to be written. The historian will be interested not only because of the activities of another area have been recorded, but also because of its uniqueness. The sociologist may be able to arrive at conclusions about migration, assimilation, accomodation and other aspects of social behavior important to him. Those who participated in the colony will be happy to have their story told. Their descendants will be proud to read of the accomplishments of their ancestors. Members of the Church will be happy to know that even the peoples of the Islands participated in the great gathering movement.

## CHAPTER I

### A PLACE IN ZION FOR THE HAWAIIAN SAINTS

#### 1. Saints of the South Sea Islands Come to Utah

From the very founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in upstate New York in 1830, its missionaries have been sent to various parts of the United States and to foreign countries to gain adherents to the faith. The first Mormon missionaries to go to the Pacific Islands were called in 1844. They were originally called to the Sandwich (Hawaiian) Islands, but circumstances led them to Australia, the Society and Tuamotu Islands.<sup>1</sup> About six years later ten elders were sent to the Hawaiian Islands to open a mission there under the direction of Hiram Clark. Among this group which arrived in Honolulu on December 12, 1850,<sup>2</sup> was George Q. Cannon, later an apostle and member of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church.

At first the work of these missionaries was very slow and unfruitful; but as they learned the language and customs of the people, conversions began to increase. Many of these converts were desirous of migrating to Utah, but leaving the

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<sup>1</sup>Andrew A. Jensen, A History of Hawaiian Mission, MS, p. 4. L.D.S. Historian's Office, Salt Lake City, Utah.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 9.



Islands was forbidden by their own government.<sup>3</sup> Their leaders felt that the next best step was to gather the Hawaiian saints into one location in the Islands. The first gathering place was established in 1853 in the valley of Palawai on the island of Lanai. This land was first rented from Halelea, a friendly chief, but later purchased from him. In the fall of 1854 the Hawaiian Mormons began to gather there. This proved unsatisfactory, and later a permanent gathering place was established at Laie, Oahu, where the Church bought a large tract of ground in 1865.<sup>4</sup>

The Hawaiians continued to cherish a desire to come to Utah. About 1867 a native by the name of Napela, who had been the first Hawaiian baptised, received permission from his government to visit the Utah Territory.<sup>5</sup> Upon returning home, he gave such glowing reports concerning what he had seen at the headquarters of the Church that many more wished to have the privilege of going to Utah.

In time the Hawaiian Government relaxed its laws, and the Hawaiians wishing to come to Utah were permitted to do so.<sup>6</sup> Generally they came with returning missionaries and settled around Warm Springs in the northwest part of Salt Lake City in

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<sup>3</sup>Marvin E. Peck, "The Sandwich Islands Country and People," a series of eleven articles, The Contributor, XVII, p. 580.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 693.

<sup>5</sup>Deseret Evening News, May 13, 1893.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid.

the old Nineteenth Ward. The Hawaiians continued to come as opportunity presented itself until by 1889 about seventy-five had gathered in Salt Lake City.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Obtaining a Suitable Place

The Hawaiians were not assimilated with the white population in Salt Lake City.<sup>8</sup> They were given the hardest and least desirable types of work and were often unemployed part of each year. They did not purchase or build up businesses of their own, and they were put into an environment quite foreign to them. Gradually the need for a permanent place where they could obtain year-round employment became apparent. Quite possibly the efforts to get the Hawaiians out of the city were accelerated when one of them died of leprosy.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, on May 16, 1889, a committee of three was appointed by the First Presidency of the Church to select a suitable place to locate and colonize the Hawaiians already in Utah and those who would come later. These three men, Harvey H. Cluff, William W. Cluff, and Fred A. Mitchell, went to the Hawaiians residing at Warm Springs and presented the plan to them. The Hawaiians enthusiastically sanctioned the plan and promptly appointed three of their own group to work on the committee. They were

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<sup>7</sup>Peck, op. cit., p. 739.

<sup>8</sup>Thomas A. Waddoups, "The Iosepa Colony and the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company," December, 1956, MS. p. 1. Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.

<sup>9</sup>Harvey H. Cluff, Diary, MS., 250. Microfilm copy in Brigham Young University Library, Provo, Utah.



J. W. Kaulainamoku, George Kamakaniau and Napela (the same Napela who had been the first Hawaiian convert and the first Hawaiian to visit Utah.)<sup>10</sup> Early in June these men set out on their assignment and during the next two weeks inspected numerous farms and ranches offered for sale at that time. First they examined the ranch of John T. Rich in Tooele County. Within a few days they had appraised various properties in Utah, Weber, and Cache Counties. After due consideration the committee decided the Rich property in Skull Valley, Tooele County, offered the best possibilities for the Hawaiians and recommended its purchase in their report to the First Presidency. The day after receiving the report, June 21, the First Presidency and the committee, by unanimous vote, decided to accept this recommendation.<sup>11</sup>

The report submitted by the committee gives a very good description of the property that was bought for the Hawaiians:

The property consists of 1920 acres with twelve miles of good substantial pole and wire fence. Six hundred forty acres of the above is a school section and within the pasture enclosure; for the balance of the 1280 acres he [Mr. Rich] has the government title. Of the other lands there are two hundred acres under cultivation. One hundred sixty acres is situated about eight miles from the farm on the foot hills of the western range of mountains and has a large spring of good water capable of irrigating from fifty to sixty acres and will water a large number of stock. . . . The irrigation water supply is an exclusive right to five streams from the eastern range of mountains, which streams are conveyed in one ditch, this being the only running stream within a radius of many miles, and in

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 28.



amount equals to one quarter or one third of the waters of City Creek. In addition, there are a number of large springs on the property, one of which forms a fish pond nearly one thousand feet long and from all indications, an abundant additional supply can be obtained by flowing wells. In connection with this part of our report we would respectfully call your attention to the fact that section nos. 17, 20, 22, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, and 34 immediately adjoining the land owned by Brother Rich are of the same quality as that now under cultivation and are subject to entry.<sup>12</sup>

The land and improvements were priced at \$35,000 but the cattle and horses were to be bought from Rich separately. Initially the cost of the livestock was estimated at \$8,275.00. But when the animals were itemized, counted and sold individually and the final arrangements made, Rich received \$12,279.00 for 129 horses and 335 head of horned cattle.

The mountains to the east held an abundance of cedar and quaking aspen for fencing and fuel plus a good supply of saw timber. A steam saw mill, located five miles east of the property, offered lumber for sale at sixteen dollars per thousand feet. Brick and adobe could be made at the colony as cheaply as in any other locality. Land and water were plentiful. Thus the elements for making and sustaining a colony were within easy access. Through proper management the area could be developed to support a sizeable colony. The committee and First Presidency had made a wise selection based upon the facts known to them.

Early background of Skull Valley.--When the Mormon pioneers entered Salt Lake Valley in 1847, Skull Valley was

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-30.

inhabited by the Goshute Indians. Soon after arriving in the Utah Territory, however, the Mormons began exploring and settling surrounding areas. Porter Rockwell established a ranch in Skull Valley in 1850-1851, but the first permanent white settlers came in 1869 under the direction of William Lee to live and work with the Indians. These men were Mormon missionaries. So successful were they that more than one thousand Indians were converted to the Mormon doctrine in Tooele County. Some of the Indians were induced to cultivate the soil and obtain lands under the Homestead Act. Indian ranches were established at Skull Valley and Deep Creek. Gradually, the Indian population in Tooele County decreased until they were all located on a reservation in Skull Valley. In the 1880's most of the Indians in Skull Valley were relocated by the federal government on reservations in Uintah and Juab Counties.<sup>13</sup> However, some remained on a ranch to the south of what was to become Iosepa and are still there at the present time. These remaining Indians participated with the Hawaiians in their celebrations and holidays and often came begging for food.<sup>14</sup>

After most of the Indians moved out, the land of Skull Valley was opened to homestead or purchase and came into the possession of white men. Quince Knowlton had owned the Iosepa property before Rich and had built most of the buildings and

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<sup>13</sup> Leonard J. Arrington, "The L.D.S. Hawaiian Colony at Skull Valley," The Improvement Era, LVII, (May, 1954), pp. 314-314.

<sup>14</sup> Waddoups, op. cit., April 8, 1958.



made most of the other improvements that were there when the Hawaiians moved in.

### 3. Resettling in a New Home

The First Presidency and the colonizing committee decided to organize and incorporate under the laws of the Utah Territory. Attorneys for the Church prepared the articles of incorporation, which were filed in Tooele on August 7, 1889. At the first meeting of the stockholders, directors and officers were elected. Harvey H. Cluff, who had spent many years in the Hawaiian Islands as a missionary, was called by the Church authorities and set apart to preside over the colony in ecclesiastical matters. He was also elected manager of the company by the directors of the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company. Elihue Barrell was chosen bookkeeper.<sup>15</sup>

At a meeting of the First Presidency and the committee it was decided that: (1) each of the stockholders could have a city lot; (2) the city lots were to cost no more than \$75.00 or less than \$25.00; (3) lots fronting the town square were to be reserved for the company; (4) a meeting house was to be built that could also be used as a school house; (5) adjoining lands should be obtained by homestead; (6) negotiations should be made to purchase a saw mill in the mountains near the colony; (7) a seal should be obtained for the company, the motto being the rising sun with Hawaiian characters to explain it; (8) the company should obtain a brand and (9) the company

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<sup>15</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 31.



should render such aid as possible to the colonists in building their houses as a loan.<sup>16</sup>

Iosepa was bought on the installment plan. Five thousand dollars was paid down and \$4285.71 a year for seven years. Seven notes payable to John Rich were endorsed by the First Presidency, each for the above amount, at an interest rate of 8 percent per annum. The first note fell due on July 1, 1890, and another on each succeeding July 1st until all were paid off. The notes were signed for the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company by H. H. Cluff, President, and F. A. Mitchell, Secretary, by order of the board. On August 16, H. H. Cluff paid Rich the five thousand dollar down payment and gave him the properly executed notes.<sup>17</sup>

Now, all was in readiness for the Hawaiian saints to move to Iosepa. F. W. Marchant, who had also been called to assist with the colony, and Barrell went ahead to make eating and sleeping preparations for the colonizers. The only transportation available was the railroad to Garfield Junction. From there to Iosepa was another forty miles. Tooele Stake was assigned by the First Presidency the task of transporting the Hawaiians from Garfield Junction and their belongings from Salt Lake City to their new home with teams and wagons.

On the morning of August 26, the teamsters commenced transporting the Hawaiian's personal effects from Salt Lake City.

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<sup>16</sup>Nuttall, op. cit., pp. 47-48.

<sup>17</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 31.



That evening the bishops of the Nineteenth and Twenty-second wards served the departing Hawaiians a huge feast. The next morning H. H. Cluff, Elihue Clegg and forty-five or fifty natives<sup>18</sup> went by train to Garfield where they were met by twenty teams and wagons and taken to Grantsville for the night. That evening the Hawaiians were prevailed upon to give a musical entertainment. The next day, August 28, this group of pioneers reached the place that was to be the Utah home of the Polynesian Mormons for the next twenty-eight years. President Cluff proclaimed the day to be Hawaiian Pioneer Day, and in the evening a meeting of songs, prayers and speeches of thanksgiving was held with the brethren from Tooele participating. The day was celebrated there each year just as other Utahns celebrated July 24th.<sup>19</sup>

Sleeping quarters were very crowded the first night as the only shelter was the few buildings Frank Knowlton had

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<sup>18</sup>There is a discrepancy in the Cluff diary in regard to the number of Hawaiians who arrived in Iosepa the first day. On page 31 he says that forty-five natives went the first day. Later he lists the names of those who arrived with the first group. There are the names of fifty on this list. It has not been possible to ascertain which number is correct from any primary source. The author is inclined to believe the number to have been fifty.

According to Peck's article in The Contributor, about seventy-five natives had arrived in Salt Lake City by 1889. Why all did not go to Iosepa, if there were that many, could not be ascertained. They must have gone to Iosepa later if the number is correct because T. A. Waddoups reports that although some were living in Murray, by 1900 none were in Salt Lake City. He further stated that those who were in Murray had gone there from Iosepa and returned about 1903 or 1904 to Iosepa. See Appendix A for a list of names of the first group to reach Iosepa.

<sup>19</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 31.



erected, and the people from Grantsville and Tooele who had accompanied them stayed overnight. This spurred the new pioneers to fast action to get new homes built. On the afternoon of their arrival a survey of the townsite was begun by Mitchell, assisted by Francis M. Lyman, Jr. It was completed two days later.<sup>20</sup> Within two weeks arrangements were made to buy a nearby saw mill from Edwin Booth for the sum of \$1497.75. Booth was employed to operate and superintend the mill. On September 9th construction was begun on the first home in the townsite. Each head of a family drew lots for a lot after the townsite and lots were laid out.<sup>21</sup> If the lot suited the person who drew it, title for the land could be obtained by purchase. In actual practice ownership of most of these lots remained with the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company. Each lot had sufficient room for a home, a garden, a barn and corral facilities for livestock.

In a newspaper interview a few weeks later, Cluff had the following to say about the laying out of the townsite and public square:

Since their arrival there, the town referred to has been surveyed and several dwellings erected. A public square, containing eleven acres, has been layed out in the center of town and is destined to be fenced this fall and planted out to trees. The four center streets, eight rods wide, extend from the outer limits of the town on the four sides of the square. It is designed to plant a row of trees in the center of each of these broad streets, forming avenues, extending from the center of town outskirts. All the other streets are four rods wide and the blocks twenty-

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X<sup>20</sup> See Appendix B for townsite plat as filed in 1908.

<sup>21</sup> Arrington, op. cit., pp. 314-315.



two rods square, divided into four lots making each a corner lot.<sup>22</sup>

Not long after their arrival the colonists found it necessary to select a burial site. An elderly woman, Makaopipio, died on September 15. Cluff and a group of the native elders selected an elevated plot on the northeast corner of the town-site for their cemetery. The next day Iosepa's first funeral was held.

On October 13th the priesthood met to organize the colony ecclesiastically. The Elders Quorum presidency consisted of Peter Kealakaihouna, president, with David Mokuilima and W. K. Halemanu, counselors. Charles W. Naau was chosen president of the Teachers Quorum, and John Makaula and J. K. N. Mahoe counselors. In the Sunday School Elihue Barrell was chosen superintendent, and J. W. Kaulianamoku and W. K. Halemanu assistant superintendents and J. K. N. Mahoe secretary. The Relief Society was organized with Emily G. Cluff, president, and sisters Kapukini and Lucy Kahaolelio as counselors. F. W. Marchant was appointed president of the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association and J. K. N. Mahoe and James Halemanu as his counselors. President of the Young Ladies Mutual Improvement Association was Lillian Barrell; her counselors were Miliama Kekuku and Hanah Mahoe with Victoria Mahunalii as secretary.<sup>23</sup> Cluff was president of the colony which was considered a mis-

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<sup>22</sup>Utah Enquirer, November 5, 1889.

<sup>23</sup>Cluff, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

sion branch by the Church, and as such it was directly under the supervision of the First Presidency.

As winter approached, the Iosepa colonizers settled down to the serious business of producing a livelihood in the wilderness of Skull Valley.

## CHAPTER II

### LEGAL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF THE COLONY

#### 1. Incorporation of the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints purchased the land, colonized the area and presided over the settlement of Iosepa. Iosepa, however, was set up at a time when the federal government was attempting, through legislative enactment, to force the Church to abandon the practice of polygamy and to break its alleged political and economic domination of Utah Territory by the Church. It was the contention of many federal officers that the Mormon Church had a stronghold on the economic, political and religious activities of the Territory. It was their desire to right these alleged wrongs. In passing laws to do this, the Church was circumscribed in its activities, and extreme caution had to be exercised by the Church to keep within the law. In 1862 the Morrill act, aimed directly at the Church, stated in part that,

It shall not be lawful for any corporation or association for religious or charitable purposes to acquire or hold real estate in any territory of the United States during the existence of the territorial government of a greater value than fifty-thousand dollars.<sup>1</sup>

In 1887, just two years before Iosepa was colonized, the famous Edmunds-Tucker Act was passed strengthening the Morrill Act.

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<sup>1</sup>U. S. Statutes at Large, XII, 50.



Section thirteen of this act gave the Attorney-General of the United States the responsibility of prosecuting offenders of the above quoted section of the Morrill Act and to escheat to the United States properties held in violation of that section.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the Church could legally hold a total of no more than fifty-thousand dollars worth of property and could not enter into a venture such as buying the property of Iosepa as a Church or they would be prosecuted by the federal government. Indeed the Church encountered much difficulty in carrying out their projected programs during this era, and various methods were used to keep within the laws. Professor Leonard J. Arrington points out that,

During the 1880's when ecclesiastical corporations were formed to hold church property and industrial cooperatives became joint stock concerns, new colonizing ventures followed the same practice. Companies were incorporated, shares of stock were subscribed, dividends were distributed, and property rights were precisely described and apportioned. Thus were organized the Mexican Colonization and Agricultural Company. . . in 1888; the Iosepa Agricultural and Stock Company, which founded a Hawaiian Colony in Skull Valley, Utah, in 1889; the Deseret and Salt Lake Agricultural and Manufacturing Canal Company established in 1889. . . ; The Alberta Land and Colonization Company organized in 1896. . . ; the Nevada Land and Livestock Company formed in 1897; and the Big Horn Basin Colonization Company incorporated in 1900. . . . The capitalization of these companies ranged from \$50,000 to more than \$1,000,000. The Church assisted in each of the companies financially, and held an important block of stock in each, and this influence submerged the tendency to convert them into ordinary commercial enterprises.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., XXIV, 637.

<sup>3</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, Building the Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900, Typescript of a book to be published in 1958 by the Harvard University Press.



A group of men belonging to the Church incorporated the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company in accordance with the laws of the time relating to private companies. The Church regulated the financial affairs of the company through these and other men, but always paid the expenses. For many years the project lost money which the Church paid. In later years it began to pay its way and finally a profit began to be realized. The Church was supposed to receive any profit, but in actual practice profits were always left with the company for the benefit of the colonists.<sup>4</sup>

Those participating in the incorporation of the company included William W. and Harvey H. Cluff, each with 334 shares of stock, and Fredrick A. Mitchell, John T. Caine, Albert W. Davis and Henry P. Richards, who each subscribed to 333 shares, making a total of 2000 shares. J. W. Kaulainamoku, a Hawaiian, later bought ten shares. The Articles of Incorporation set the price per share at \$25.00 and a maximum of \$75,000 worth of shares was authorized.<sup>5</sup> It was the original intent that this stock be sold to anyone who was interested in purchasing some. Rich was to accept property owned in Salt Lake City by the Hawaiians and apply the value on the purchase price of the Iosepa land. The price of this property was to be determined by a committee of three disinterested persons. For this the Hawaiians were to receive stock to the amount of the property

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<sup>4</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 30, 1958.

<sup>5</sup>Articles of Incorporation of the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company, Articles of Incorporation, Tooele County Court House, Tooele, Utah, p. 12.



given. Iosepa's stock did not sell well. Only a few men besides the original incorporators and Kaulainamoku are known to have had stock. Kaelohanui Niau had some stock that he sold in 1899.<sup>6</sup> It is reasonable to assume that others also held stock, but it was not a widespread thing. T. A. Waddoups, who held stock as required of all officers of the company, knew of no other stockholders except company officials. To him the company was the legal means through which the Church carried on the financial affairs of the colony.<sup>7</sup>

The organization of the company was to include a board of directors of seven members whose duty it was to elect a president, a vice-president, a secretary and a treasurer, all of whom were to serve for a two year term. There were two qualifications for the officers: (1) they had to hold at least one share of stock and (2) they had to be members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The board might remove an officer if his conduct was contrary to the company's interest or if the officer ceased to be qualified. The seven men mentioned above as initially subscribing to stock were the directors for the first term. Harvey H. Cluff was elected president and Fredrick A. Mitchell vice-president, secretary and treasurer. To these officers was given the right to make all rules and

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<sup>6</sup>Journal History, MS, prepared by the Historian's Office, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. June 2, 1899, p. 2. Hereafter cited as Journal History.

<sup>7</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.



regulations for the management of the colony and its concerns.

The purpose of the company was "to carry on business of agriculture, stockraising, merchandising and manufacturing, and the sale and purchase of real estate in the Territory of Utah."<sup>8</sup>

The company held all the lands and livestock of the colony except the lots of the colonists who had purchased theirs and the teams or riding horses owned by individuals. The workers received a daily or monthly wage for their work and purchased from the corporation or through its officials the necessities of life. In the beginning a bookkeeping system was used by which the workers were credited with work performed and charged for goods purchased. This system was used until after Thomas A. Waddoups came to head the colony in 1901. Shortly thereafter a scrip system was inaugurated, doing away with the laborious bookkeeping system. A Salt Lake City printing house printed a special series of paper scrip in 5¢, 10¢, 25¢, 50¢, and \$1.00 denominations. This was used to pay the colonists for their labor, and in turn the colonists used it to pay for goods and services received. Occasionally some of the colonists went to Salt Lake City to shop. The company endeavored to have enough money on hand to exchange for scrip at such time. Later, as the company became a paying venture, cash was used in place of the scrip.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Articles of Incorporation, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>9</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.



## 2. Land Acquisitions by the Company

The original land sold by John Rich amounted to 1120 acres of patented land<sup>10</sup> and the right to rent a school section of 640 acres, all enclosed within the same fence. Although the company bought other school sections, for some reason they never did purchase this original section. Perhaps it was more profitable to rent it year after year than to purchase it outright. Use of this land was retained by the colony throughout its existence. The section subsequently reverted to the state and was later purchased by the Desert Livestock Company.

The first addition to the original land was on December 18, 1890, when 320 acres were purchased from Robert Macklejohn for \$835.00.<sup>11</sup> Two years later in three purchases, 480.60 acres were obtained from Benjamin Knowlton and wife for a total of \$7,200.00<sup>12</sup> Soon after arriving in the colony, Harvey H. Cluff and Franklin W. Marchant had each filed on a section of land. When title to this land was perfected, it was sold to the company. On September 14, 1893, Cluff received

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<sup>10</sup>Tooele County, Utah. Deed Record HH, pp. 76-77. According to the report of the colonization committee as submitted to the First Presidency there was to have been 1280 acres of patented land offered for sale by Rich. Whether Rich sold 160 acres less than originally agreed to or whether the original estimate was high is not known. The fact remains that only 1120 acres of patented land as above mentioned was originally purchased.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., II, p. 230.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., KK, pp. 576-577.

\$500.00 for his 632.59 acres;<sup>13</sup> and on March 21, 1896, Marchant sold his land amounting to 640 acres along with his one-third interest in the waters of Spring Creek, Big Pole Creek, Little Pole Creek, Low Pass Creek and Choke Cherry Creek for \$7,847.78.<sup>14</sup> On February 24, 1902, the company bought 160 acres from Henry P. Richards and his wife for \$240.00.<sup>15</sup>

The Western Pacific Railroad built a line through Western Utah soon after the turn of the century. The Dell Ranch holdings, on part of the company's property, were sold by the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company to railroad agents T. J. Wyche and Waldemar Van Cott for \$25,000.00. This was on October 2, 1906. The sale consisted of 320.60 acres of land plus the interests of the company in the waters of Box Creek and Dell Spring.<sup>16</sup> The next day Iosepa bought 160 acres from John H. Makalakuiki for \$200.00.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., LL, p. 249.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., VV, p. 518

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 3C, p. 162.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 274. The railroad company was interested in getting this property for the water rights included in the sale to provide water for Dell Station. When the diesel engine replaced the steam engine, water was not such a problem and it proved easier to haul the necessary water from Salt Lake City. Years later the Desert Livestock Company bought the Dell Ranch from the railroad company.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.



In 1909<sup>18</sup> and again in 1911<sup>19</sup> the Iosepa Company contracted to buy a school section for \$1600.00 and 480 acres for \$1200.00 respectively, to be paid for over a period of years. A few years later, however, the land reverted back to the state. Shortly before the Iosepa property was sold, these properties were bought outright from the state at the original prices<sup>20</sup> and an additional purchase was made at this time for one more piece of land containing 320 acres for \$800.00.<sup>21</sup>

Two Hawaiian colonists filed on and obtained 160 acres each and later sold it to the company. James K. Halemanu received \$400.00 for his land on October 16, 1915,<sup>22</sup> and John K. Mahoe sold his land for \$480.00 the following year.<sup>23</sup>

Thus it may be seen that the Church kept an active interest in this colony, buying additional properties to provide lands on which more people could make an adequate living. The improvements made by the colony on the property increased the value of the land to the extent that the properties sold for three times the original cost. Altogether, during the twenty-eight years of its existence the company purchased 5273.19 acres at an aggregate price of \$58,302.78. The early sale to

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<sup>18</sup>Tooele County, Utah, Book A Miscellaneous, 200.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Tooele County, Utah, Deed Record, 3K 494-495.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., 3K 493.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 3K 453.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 3K 191.



the railroad company brought \$25,000.00<sup>24</sup> and the balance was sold to the Desert Livestock Company for \$150,000.00<sup>25</sup> making a total of \$175,000.00.

### 3. The Role of the Territory and State in the Affairs of the Colony and Municipal Government

The Colony was the creation and responsibility of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. After nineteen years as an unincorporated settlement, the town was incorporated under the laws of the state of Utah; and a townsite plat was filed at the Tooele County Court House on July 31, 1908.<sup>26</sup> Because of its isolated position, Iosepa was only occasionally and incidentally involved in the political affairs of the county and state. Generally the county court was not very interested in what took place in Iosepa. One exception to this took place in 1896 when the county and territory became excited about leprosy among the colonists. In June of that year the Tooele County Court appointed a committee to investigate the alleged existence of leprosy at Iosepa and report their findings back to the court.<sup>27</sup> This committee found a few cases of leprosy.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 30 274.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 30 209. In the fall of 1917 the Desert Livestock Company bought 4958.59 acres of land from the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company.

<sup>26</sup>Deseret Evening News, September 1, 1908, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, June 4, 1896, p. 7.



Certain precautions suggested by the committee were carried out by the colony.

The citizens of Iosepa were under the County Sheriff's office, but only in cases that could not be settled at the colony was this office consulted. The president of the colony enjoyed the friendship and respect of each member of the colony and always seemed to have a good knowledge of what was going on. When disputes arose, the participants would immediately go to him or to their church priesthood group leaders where the matter would be fully discussed and solutions suggested. This procedure was successful in most cases. If necessary, however, more coercion, which might range from disapproval of the group to excommunication from the Church, if a serious enough infraction of the commandments of the Church were involved, could be exerted to keep disputes under control. Therefore, county or state law enforcement officials very seldom found it necessary to go to Iosepa to settle disputes.<sup>28</sup> No instance is recorded in which a county or state law enforcement official went to Iosepa, but Cluff once told a colonist to go to Tooele and turn himself in when he became so angry with another member of the colony in an argument that he shot at him. What finally happened in this case could not be ascertained.

A Justice of the Peace, William Waddoups, and a town constable, J. K. N. Mahoe, were the only city officials in Iosepa after its incorporation. The positions were more hono-

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<sup>28</sup>Interview with Waddoups, April 5, 1958.



rary than onerous. The only case that T. A. Waddoups recalls his brother ever trying involved a young man who had been arrested for disturbing the peace. The man was fined five dollars; but when he could not pay it, the Justice of the Peace paid it with his own money.<sup>29</sup>

The privilege of voting in county, state and national elections was enjoyed by the citizens of Iosepa. At first, however, it was necessary for them to go to Grantsville to exercise the right. Going to vote was an occasion looked forward to by all. They traveled in their wagons to Grantsville and stayed overnight there at the homes of some of the candidates who were always more than happy to entertain them in hopes of obtaining their votes. Later a voting precinct was created at Iosepa and everyone went to the school house to ballot.<sup>30</sup> The privilege of voting was taken seriously by the Hawaiians. They always voted, but never actively engaged in politics. It was not known to what party they belonged, nor did candidates actively campaign for the Iosepa vote.<sup>31</sup>

#### 4. The Attitude of the Hawaiian Government Toward Their Citizens Coming to Utah

Until about 1875 the Hawaiian government made it almost impossible for Hawaiian citizens to leave the Islands to go to

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., August 10, 1957.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Interview with Olivia Waddoups, August 6, 1958, Pleasant Grove, Utah.



another country. Even after laws prohibiting emigration were modified, and the natives could leave their island home, the government tried to make sure that the emigrants did not leave permanently. Two instances in 1894 in Iosepa show what effort the Hawaiian government would make to bring them back.

In March of that year, Cecil Brown, an agent of the Hawaiian government, came to Iosepa and offered to pay return fare to the Islands for anyone who would forsake his Utah home and return to the Islands. Some seemed inclined to accept the offer.<sup>32</sup> In August the colonists received a letter from the Hawaiian consul in San Francisco offering free passage to Hawaii to all who would go.<sup>33</sup> To some of the colonists, this was a command from their government--a command they must obey; others, however, regarded their allegiance to their church as paramount to all others.

The Sunday after the consul's letter was received, President Cluff addressed the people on the gathering of Israel in the last days, a work that he said was then going on. He told them that they were the first fruits of the gathering from the islands of the sea and that they were under the dominion of the Kingdom of God. The purpose of these remarks was to check the enthusiasm that stirred the colonists and made some of them desire to return to their island home. This talk had a profound effect upon the colonists as they unanimously gave up

<sup>32</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 120.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 139.

their desire to return at this time, but the problem was not yet resolved.

A short time later, President Cluff met with the First Presidency of the Church to discuss what should be done about those who might wish to return home. The decision was made to permit the return of any who wished to go. They were to return with good feelings, manifesting an interest in the mission back in Hawaii.<sup>34</sup> When the announcement was made that the Hawaiian Saints were as free to come and go as were their white brethren, some left Iosepa, intending to enjoy a trip to their native islands at the expense of their former government. According to President Cluff, they all returned in a short time to Iosepa.

That some did return to Hawaii that year for an extended or permanent stay is indicated in a letter written by President Cluff to the First Presidency of the Church, in which the latter noted reports from the Sandwich Islands that some of those who left Iosepa and returned to the Islands with the help of the Hawaiian Government already wanted to come back to Iosepa.<sup>35</sup> An article in the Deseret Evening News stated that "a few saints accepted the Hawaiian Government's invitation to return to the islands, and that they were now wishing they were back in Utah and would return as soon as it was practicable."<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>36</sup>Deseret Evening News, December 22, 1894, p. 5.



From this time on, the Hawaiians felt more free to come and go as they wished; and in 1898 the Hawaiian Islands became a territory of the United States and thereafter its citizens could travel freely to and from the United States. During the years 1901 to 1917, when Waddoups was president of the colony, a few more returned to the Islands, but the number was small in comparison to the number who came over to the colony. Never during this time did the Hawaiian Territorial Government attempt to persuade them to return.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Interview with Waddoups, April 8, 1958.

## CHAPTER III

### THE COMPANY'S ACTIVITIES THROUGH THE YEARS

#### 1. Money Making Ventures

The new colony of Iosepa was a busy place during the last few months of 1889. Crops had to be harvested, cattle gathered and rebranded, housing provided for the colonists, and preparations made for the coming winter. The saw mill was soon busy providing lumber for homes which went up rapidly. On September 2nd they began to round up and brand cattle; the following day, threshing commenced.

A. Selling feed and boarding livestock.-- As the crops were being harvested, it became necessary to plan the best way to turn the crops into money and provide for the new inhabitants for the first few years. Early money making ventures involved either selling feed to livestock men in the area or boarding sheep and cattle belonging to others and feeding and caring for them throughout the winter for a given amount per head. The first of such projects was begun the fall of 1889, when the colony contracted to winter some tithing cattle. These cattle had been paid to the Church as part of the one-tenth of the annual increase of the L.D.S. cattlemen of the surrounding area. The health of some of the animals was poor because of age or disease. More than half of them died during



the winter. The company received nine hundred dollars for feeding and caring for these cattle.<sup>1</sup>

Sheepmen also took advantage of the facilities at Iosepa and boarded many of their animals there during the winter. It was easy for the company to feed and care for large numbers of sheep throughout the winter because they had large amounts of hay and grain and plenty of men to feed and care for the sheep. During the 1890's, however, the nation was in financial difficulty, the sheepmen being among those affected most adversely. It was often difficult for the sheepmen to pay what they owed the company. Many other stockmen bought feed from the company and hauled it to their livestock.

B. Buying Cattle and Lambs to fatten and resell.--

Generally speaking it is more profitable to feed and fatten one's own livestock for sale than to feed livestock for others. Realizing this the managers of the company desired to purchase sufficient livestock to consume all the feed grown on the ranch. The first venture of buying cattle, fattening and reselling them was undertaken after William King replaced Cluff in 1890 and completed after Cluff returned in 1892. King contracted to pay twenty-five dollars per head for eighty-five head of cattle, the purchase price to be paid upon delivery of the cattle to market. The cattle grew and fattened well, but the price of cattle fell and the venture failed. The cattle averaged 1035 pounds each when sold but realized only  $2\frac{1}{4}\phi$  a pound

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<sup>1</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 142.



or \$23.27 a head. To cut the loss to the company, the cattlemen from whom the cattle were purchased lowered the original price to \$23.70 each.<sup>2</sup> Thus the loss was decreased, but the company still lost the amount of feed consumed by the cattle plus the time spent feeding and caring for them. This experience caused them to be more cautious and to return to the less hazardous though generally less profitable enterprise of feeding other livestock or selling feed.

Gradually, however, they began to gain confidence in their ability to successfully feed livestock and during the late 1890's began buying more cattle to feed out. This practice was accelerated after T. A. Waddoups became manager of the company in 1901. Each fall Waddoups went to various livestock men of the area and bought lambs and feeder cattle to fatten during the winter. Waddoups recalls that as many as 400 head of cattle and 5000 lambs were sold in one year. The cattle were always very fat and weighed over 1000 pounds. Often they were shipped to Denver, Colorado, and sold there where there was a greater demand for larger higher grade beef than at the Salt Lake City market.<sup>3</sup>

C. Raising hogs for market.--Pork was the favorite meat of the Hawaiians and from the beginning they had enough for their own consumption. Gradually, however, the swine herd grew larger until it became an important business to them. In

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<sup>2</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 74.

<sup>3</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.



a two year period from March 1, 1892, to March 1, 1894, the hog population increased from seventy-two to over five hundred, and the value of their hogs from about \$230.00 to \$3,000.00.<sup>4</sup> Much time was spent in making new pens, caring for and slaughtering the swine. Smoking and curing houses were made for the hams. On April 25, 1894, \$1925.00 was invested by the Church to improve swine facilities.<sup>5</sup> The hogs had to be killed, dressed and taken immediately to market in Salt Lake City or cured. For two or three years the company continued to raise hogs in large numbers, but gradually the extra care needed in marketing them caused the company to decrease the number of hogs until by the time Waddoups arrived they had ceased raising hogs for market. Thereafter, hogs were raised for consumption only in the colony.

D. Establishing a store.--A general store intended to serve the colonists and livestock men of the area was established about 1904 not only for the convenience of the people, but in an effort also to make money. Until the store was established, everything had to be brought in to the colony as ordered. This proved unsatisfactory; so soon after arriving there, Waddoups established a store, making it possible for colonists and livestock men to buy what they wanted, when they wanted, at a fair price and still have the company reap a profit. Goods were bought in Salt Lake City at wholesale prices and transported to the colony. A store building was erected to the

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<sup>4</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 132.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 134.

south of the company manager's home. This building remains and is now being used as a bunk house. So successful was this store that it frequently made the difference between profit and loss for the company.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Degree of Financial Success Attained Through the Years

The company was unable to get well established before the depression of the 1890's caused most businesses to suffer financially. This caused the company to operate at a loss or a near loss throughout that decade. In the winter of 1892 the sheepmen of the area boarded many sheep on the ranch, but because of the gravity of the financial conditions could not pay the company all they owed for several years. Therefore, the company had a very difficult time securing enough cash to pay its property tax.<sup>7</sup> As financial conditions improved and the store was opened, and as more livestock belonging to the company were fattened and sold, the company began to show some profit.

In 1894, at the end of five years, affairs appeared to be going satisfactorily in the colony, considering the situation in the nation as a whole. In a letter to the First Presidency of the Church, Cluff reported:

We have so far completed our new grainery, which has a capacity of 14,000 bushels of grain. We have of this year's crop now in the grainery, wheat 1850 bushels, oats 1650 bushels, barley, 3700 bushels, total 7200 bushels. We have enough breadstuffs to supply the colony two or three years. The other kinds of produce harvested are

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<sup>6</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.

<sup>7</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 117.



potatoes 500 bushels, corn 200 bushels, hay 650 tons, squash and pumpkins 125 tons, garden stuffs worth about \$100. The total value of the farm products if marketed without any expense of shipping deducted would reach a nice little sum of \$8000.

In addition to our farming interests, we have made considerable improvements in building grainery, houses for our machinery and farm implements, cellar for vegetables, pig pens and fencing. We have also succeeded in fall plowing our entire farm land except about fifteen acres which will enable us to put in early crops next spring. Owing to the want of proper arrangements for the care of swine during the summer months quite a number of small pigs were destroyed by wolves, so that our increase in that industry is not as great as expected. We are now putting in separate pens 150 head of hogs for fattening on the market.<sup>8</sup>

Early the next year Cluff made a report concerning the finances for the preceeding year. This report showed that the company income from all sources was about \$8500.00 and expenses of \$7697.00, not including Cluff's compensation, leaving a margin of \$803.00 profit. If Cluff's pay of approximately \$75.00 per month was included, the enterprise did not quite break even. Yearly payments on the property and interest on the unpaid balance had to be paid by the Church.

Conditions grew worse during the next few years. In April, 1897, Samuel Wooley from Grantsville offered to take charge of the farm and ranch for \$400.00 a year less than it was then costing the Church and give a guarantee to make it pay. The First Presidency gave the board of directors of the company the responsibility of acting upon the matter as they

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<sup>8</sup>Cluff, quoting a letter from Cluff to the First Presidency, December, 1894.



saw fit.<sup>9</sup> Wooley's offer was not accepted, but it indicates the conditions of the time as the colony was having a very difficult time financially. Iosepa remained in a precarious financial position until after Thomas A. Waddoups took charge of the company and the financial situation throughout the nation bettered itself.

Gradually Waddoups built up the beef and sheep feeding potentials of the ranch. In 1904, the Deseret Evening News reported:

The year certainly has been a prosperous one with the colony. One thousand tons of hay is stacked in numerous stacks in the yards. Two hundred and fifty beeves are being fed and there are besides several hundred stock cattle on the range.

Eighty beeves are being especially fattened for the Christmas market on grain. Five thousand two hundred bushels of wheat and barley fill the bins; eight hundred bushels of potatoes are on hand for local consumption and to supply sheepmen who appreciate so close a market and fifty tons of squash.

Six hundred bushels of corn will provide ample feed for the hogs. Besides this, plenty of the finest fruits of all kinds was raised for local consumption.<sup>10</sup>

Conditions continued to improve until in 1911 J. Cecil Alter, a Utah historian, avered:

Perhaps the most successful individual colonization proposition that has been attempted by the "Mormon" people in the United States is the Hawaiian colony at Iosepa.

There are 1,120 acres practically all in use and half as much more is being brought under the magic wand of the Hawaiian irrigator. . . . Every Hawaiian in the United States who had come here to be nearer the Mormon people was given the opportunity to go there and move into a house that was

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<sup>9</sup>Journal History, April 12, 1897, p. 2

<sup>10</sup>Deseret Evening News, November 26, 1904, p. 26



built for him and for his family, and work on the ranch at good wages and have besides, a large garden patch for his own use.

The story of Iosepa is a story in itself. Suffice it to say that today the several hundred folks there have water in their houses just the same as we have in Salt Lake City, and a power plant will sometime give them their electric lights. Their school and meeting houses are as good as the best. . . and since they grow their own food and raise their own animals, they are better off than many farmers who have lived in this country all their lives. The Mormon Church conceived the plan for them, and the Church made its perfection possible.

At a recent annual celebration there by the Hawaiians, when President Joseph F. Smith, Governor Wieban Spry, and other men of prominence attended, Lorenzo D. Creek a government Indian official from Washington, who was studying the Indians in Tooele County at the time, rose before the great Hawaiian uniformed audience, after having been shown all over the place, and with much feeling said:

"My friends, if this is a sample of Mormon colonization work, the best thing the government of the United States could do would be to assist them in every way possible."<sup>11</sup>

The yearly crop production and number of cattle fed increased and financial and living conditions continued to improve during the next few years. Will. G. Farrell, president of the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company, was able to report in a 1915 Pioneer Day speech that Iosepa had,

. . . a well watered farm of over a thousand acres which furnished the bulk of employment for the natives, and the pay roll averages more than one thousand dollars per month the year round. Everyone receives his pay every Saturday morning as every Saturday afternoon is for recreation, leaving Sunday for reverence and rest. The cash sales from farm products last year amounted to \$10,000 besides which feed was raised for eight hundred head of thoroughbred Shorthorn Durham cattle which belong to the company. The cash sales of cattle add another \$10,000 to the income.

A strictly modern merchandise store serves every need of the colonists, and is patronized by the big sheep farmers that winter their herds on the range in Skull Valley and just over the cedar range in the great American desert.

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<sup>11</sup>J. Cecil Alter, "Latter Day Colonization by the L.D.S." Deseret Evening News, December 16, 1911, p. 94.

Now modern houses have been built. The company not only sells a liberal village lot for the nominal sum of \$250 to the settlers, but it builds the homes and takes payment at cost in monthly installments. Hawaiians of means and education, hearing of this new home, have sold their property in Honolulu and have come here to join us.<sup>12</sup>

It is easy to see from the above report that by 1915, Iosepa was on a firm economic foundation and was paying off financially. It remained thus until the project was closed down for reasons which will be discussed in a later chapter.<sup>13</sup>

### 3. Different Administrations

The ecclesiastical leadership of the colony and management of the company was always vested in one capable man. There were three men who served in this capacity. Harvey H. Cluff served twice, once for about fifteen months (August, 1889-November 1890) then later for nine years (February, 1892-February, 1901.) William King served between these two administrations of Cluff, but his term (November 1890-February, 1892) was cut short at about fifteen months by his untimely death. Thomas A. Waddoups served for a period of about sixteen years from early 1901 until the colony was closed in 1917.

A. Harvey H. Cluff's first term.--Harvey H. Cluff was well qualified for the task of establishing the Hawaiians in their new colony. He had a background of extensive service to the Church and to the Hawaiians. He served as a missionary from 1865 to 1868 in England and from 1869 to 1874 in the Hawaiian

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<sup>12</sup>Herald Republican, September 5, 1915.

<sup>13</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.



Islands. From 1877 to 1882 he was president of the Hawaiian mission. He served in various local Church capacities until in May of 1889 when he was again called by the Church to act on a committee to select an area in which to colonize Hawaiian saints then in Utah and those who would come later. Wilford Woodruff, President of the Church, told the committee that "it is the will and mind of the Lord that Harvey H. Cluff colonize and preside over the Hawaiian Saints in Skull Valley."<sup>14</sup> This position he held until November 1, 1890, when he was succeeded by William King.

B. William King's term.--Early in 1890 William King was released as president of the Hawaiian mission and brought a group of thirty Hawaiians to Utah with him.<sup>15</sup> On the first of November that year he was called to replace Cluff as Manager of the company and president of the colony. He served for only about fifteen months until he died in a Salt Lake City hospital February 17, 1892. Very little is known of what happened during King's term except for the purchase of some additional lands and the inauguration of the first project of buying and fattening cattle.

C. Cluff's second term.--Immediately upon the death of William King, Cluff was recalled to his former position. This

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<sup>14</sup>Cluff Family Journal, a compilation of biographies of members of the Cluff family.

<sup>15</sup>Interview by Edwin Kamauoha with Mary Ann Imaikalani, Honolulu, T.H., March, 1958.

calling was made on a temporary basis<sup>16</sup> but later was made permanent.<sup>17</sup> Cluff enjoyed working with the members of the colony and was successful in what he did in spite of the financial difficulties of the times. With each succeeding year, however, he was ill more of the time. He kept at his work without complaint and without mention to anyone that he would appreciate being released from his calling. To him it was a calling given him by the Lord, from which he would be released when the Lord saw fit. Until such release was forthcoming, it was his intention to do all in his power to promote the welfare of the colony. At a meeting of the board of directors on February 8, 1901, Cluff's health was the chief topic of conversation. It was decided to recommend to the First Presidency that Cluff be replaced in consequence of his failing health.<sup>18</sup>

Later that month Cluff received the following letter, releasing him:

Salt Lake City, Utah  
February 20, 1901

President Harvey H. Cluff  
Iosepa, Utah

Dear Brother,

By this you will learn that we have honorably released you with our blessing and acknowledgements from the charge of the spiritual concerns of the Hawaiian Saints at Iosepa Colony. You have labored long and faithfully in this call-

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<sup>16</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 73.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 253.



ing and we appreciate your efforts and your devotion to duty.

You will please turn over to Elder Thomas Anson Waddoups, your successor, all Church records, books, papers, etc. and afford him all necessary information to enable him to satisfactorily perform duties of his calling.

And now, while thus releasing you we do with sincere prayers for your welfare, happiness, and eternal progress and with the hope that your future may be prosperous and crowned with the blessings of the Lord in all your days.

Yours Brothers in the Gospel

Lorenzo Snow

George Q. Cannon

Joseph F. Smith

First Presidency of the Church  
of Jesus Christ of Latter Day  
Saints.<sup>19</sup>

During Cluff's long administration of the Iosepa Colony and company, he saw many improvements and much growth. He had given fully of himself and could well look with pride upon his activities and accomplishments there.

D. T. A. Waddoups term.--Waddoups, who had recently returned from a mission to the Hawaiian Islands, was not yet married when called to succeed Cluff. Soon after receiving his call he married Myra Willey and a few days thereafter took his new bride to Iosepa where he took charge of the colony on March 1, 1901. He did not relinquish the charge until the Hawaiians returned to their native islands and the property was sold sixteen years later.<sup>20</sup>

When Waddoups became manager of the Iosepa colony, he faced a farming situation with which he was not entirely ac-

<sup>19</sup>Ibid.

<sup>20</sup>Interview with Thomas A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.

quainted. He had been raised on a truck garden farm, so many things about the raising of crops were familiar to him; but he was unfamiliar with livestock problems. William Moss of the Desert Livestock Company spent many hours with him during the first few months, giving valuable advice which helped Waddoups avoid many mistakes.<sup>21</sup>

Many improvements and projects were inaugurated during Waddoups administration. The store was opened; a \$260,000.00 culinary and irrigation water system was installed; a post office and voting precinct were established at Iosepa; a stage coach line and long distance telephone services were extended to the colony and a great amount of financial success was enjoyed.

Each of these leaders left a lasting imprint upon the colony, and the personalities and types of men each filled a need at the time they went there. Both Cluff and King were men past middle age and of the type needed to get things well established. Waddoups was a young man full of faith and dedication to the Gospel and vitality who was able to infuse new life into the members of the colony and put it on its feet financially. Each performed his duties most admirably and did his part in making the colony a success.

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<sup>21</sup>Interview with Thomas A. Waddoups, April 8, 1958.



#### 4. Activities and Problems of the Laborers and Assistants

A. Assistants to the manager and president.--During the existence of the colony, quite a number of white men were called by the Church and hired by the company to assist in the work and supervision of the colony. Often these men had served as missionaries in the Sandwich Islands where they had gained a knowledge and admiration for the ways of the Polynesians. During the early part of Cluff's first term, an allocation of labor and supervisory responsibility in the colony was made as follows: (1) F. W. Marchant, farming interests; (2) Samuel E. Wooley, livestock interests; (3) John B. Meldrum, building and carpenter work; (4) E. Hansen, milling saw, logging and stocking of mill and (5) Elihue Barrell, bookkeeping.<sup>22</sup> Various other men were called from time to time to help. Wilford J. Coles and his wife from Nephi were called to help Waddoups in the management of the colony, and especially to help in taking care of the cattle. William Waddoups, brother of T. A., and his wife went to Iosepa to teach school during the 1904-1905 school year and returned two years later to replace the Cole family. William's chief duty was as bookkeeper, which duty he continued to perform until Iosepa was closed in 1917.<sup>23</sup> School teachers were also employed first by the Church and later by

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<sup>22</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 144.

<sup>23</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, August 30, 1957.

the state after the colony was incorporated into the Tooele County school district.

B. Native Laborers and their problems.--The bulk of work on the ranch and farm was done by the native laborers under the supervision of the manager and his assistants. The work they were required to do was unlike anything they had done while in the Islands. Crops and fruit were different--in Utah they found that water had to be applied to the land in great quantities to make crops grow. Summers were hot and winters bitterly cold. There was no ocean or balmy sea breezes in Iosepa. In short, the adverse conditions and the labor required to produce bounteous crops in Utah far exceeded that met by agriculturists and ranchers in Hawaii.

Providing the Polynesians with year round employment was one of the important reasons for locating them at Iosepa. Work on a ranch varies--in the summer there is much to do while in the winter the only labors to be performed are the chores and feeding and caring for the livestock. Yet work was guaranteed the year round whether it was profitable for the company or not. Therefore, Iosepa's winter wages exceeded those of surrounding areas, and their summer wages were lower than those obtainable on nearby ranches. This caused many of the natives to wish to go elsewhere in the summer where they could earn more money. Thus, the wage problem, in addition to the land and weather conditions, necessitated many adjustments by the Hawaiians.



The first mention of a wage rate in Cluff's diary is February, 1890, when it is stated that laborers were to be paid \$1.50 per day.<sup>24</sup> Just how many men this included is not mentioned; but it was undoubtedly the top wage only since other references to wages in the diary usually give a break-down among different categories of labor. The boys, women, and lower grades of adult male laborers certainly would not receive \$1.50 per day in that era.

In June, 1892, President Cluff records that he had trouble keeping the Hawaiian hay haulers working. He first offered to pay seventy-five cents a load to those who owned teams, but the workers wanted regular day wages plus \$1.50 per day for the teams. The team owners still held out when an agreement could not be reached. Then some of the young workmen who did not own teams offered to use company teams to haul hay at seventy-five cents a load and pay \$1.50 per day for the use of the teams. This offer was accepted by Cluff, and the young men did a very good job. This brought the older men into line. They were now willing to haul the hay under the terms previously proposed by Cluff. The young men, who hoped to prevent the older men from taking over the work, tried to haul fast enough to keep up with the cutting. All during the labor troubles the older men were trying to get the younger men to join them in their ~~strike~~ but soon saw their defeat in this. Realizing their inability to successfully compete with the

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<sup>24</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 40.

younger men in hay hauling, they asked permission to haul hay for a neighbor. Permission to do so was granted.<sup>25</sup>

The following year, 1893, Cluff had problems over wages and could see more problems in the future unless something was done. In a letter to the First Presidency, he explained that the colonists were dissatisfied because men were being paid more for church work in Salt Lake City than in Iosepa. Some of the young men of Iosepa were more interested in amusements and society and had been working for less in Salt Lake City. Cluff concluded that "something must be done."<sup>26</sup> The situation continued unchanged, however, until March of 1894, when some of the natives quit work in an effort to force the board of directors to give full attention to their plea for higher wages. This left the company without men to prepare the seed-bed and plant the crops, but the situation was eased when a neighbor sent Iosepa his white laborers for a few days to assist in planting.

The next month the Iosepa Board of Directors decided upon pay raises and formulated the following wage scale:

First grade. . . . .	\$1.50 per day
Second grade . . . . .	1.25 per day
Third grade. . . . .	1.00 per day
Boys . . . . .	.75 to .25 per day
Women. . . . .	.75 to .50 per day

Each of the above was to be on the basis of a ten hour day.

The Glee Club, which was a young men's singing group, acted as a body in 1895 and contracted with the company to haul

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., pp. 80-81.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.



and stack hay for \$1.00 per ton. As long as they acted in a group, the young men were slow in filling their contract; but after they dissolved their partnership and began hauling as individuals, competition with one another caused them to do excellent work.

About the turn of the century some of the Hawaiian laborers wrote letters to members of the board of directors urging them to increase the wages of the colonists. Instead, at a meeting of the board early in 1900, the laborers were reclassified and paid according to the following reduced scale:

First class. . . . .	\$30.00 per month
Second class . . . . .	1.00 per day
Third class. . . . .	.90 per day
Fourth class . . . . .	.80 per day
Fifth class. . . . .	.50 to .75 per day

Women and young boys were included in the fifth class.<sup>27</sup>

This was so unsatisfactory to the Hawaiians that they refused to work, forcing the company to hire outsiders to come in with teams and wagons and haul the hay. As stated before, since the company had to provide year round work for the laborers, they could not pay wages as high as those paid for seasonal labor, so some Hawaiians were quite naturally attracted to higher paying summer jobs. At this time, however, the company was having financial difficulty and could not afford to raise their wages.

About a year after this T. A. Waddoups came to Iosepa as president of the colony and manager of the company. He

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 243.



stated that after he got there, labor problems occasionally occurred, but these were reduced as the Hawaiians became acclimated and more accustomed to the ways of working here. Waddoups does not remember any time when there was a strike.<sup>28</sup>

#### 5. Water System

Water for culinary and irrigation purposes had to be brought down from the springs and streams in the mountains to the east. For the first ten or twelve years culinary water was obtained from irrigation ditches that ran through the town. Usually the water was dipped up and put in barrels early in the morning before sheep or cattle had a chance to drink out of the ditches or pollute the water. It was allowed to settle several hours before the water was used to drink or cook with. The main canal came through very soft, powdery soil through which water could not be conveyed without difficulty and loss.

This unsatisfactory system of obtaining culinary water was used by all until about 1903 when Mrs. Waddoups contracted typhoid fever from impure water. This brought to the fore the immediate need of securing a better supply. Waddoups built a cistern and settling tank into which water was filtered and stored for use in his home. The tank was situated high enough to give sufficient force to pipe the water into the kitchen of the Waddoups home.<sup>29</sup> The tank was large enough to hold a large

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<sup>28</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.

<sup>29</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 9, 1958.



quantity of water. Therefore, by choosing when to divert water into the tank, relatively pure water could be obtained for the Waddoups.

Soon thereafter a tremendous water project was undertaken to divert the water from six or seven mountain streams and several springs into huge cement bottomed canals and gathered together. From that point the water could be distributed for irrigation, municipal and power purposes.<sup>30</sup> This \$260,000.00 project, completed in 1908, was very successful in making the water available for irrigation and providing each home with pure culinary water.<sup>31</sup> It was never used, however, as a source for generating power. At this same time fire hydrants were placed around the community at strategic points, and some remain there today as lone reminders of the town's location.

#### 6. Transportation and Communications

During the first sixteen or seventeen years, the only transportation in and out of Iosepa was by horse back or team and wagon to the railroad terminal at Milton east of Grantsville. As communication was dependent at that time upon transportation, Iosepa was quite isolated. It was forty miles from Iosepa to Milton over roads that were made by use, through trial and error. When a driver decided another route would be better for a distance, he would try it; and use would prove whether or

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<sup>30</sup>Deseret Evening News, September 1, 1908, p. 5.

<sup>31</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, May 5, 1958.



not others agreed with him. The road was always very bumpy, and hot and dusty in the summer. Due to the torrid summer temperatures, most of the summer traveling was done when it was cool; either in the morning, evening or at night. The train could be taken from Milton to Salt Lake City. All goods had to be hauled for many years from Salt Lake City by team and wagon or sent to Milton by train and hauled from there to Iosepa by wagon.

When the Western Pacific Railroad Co. built its railroad through to the West Coast about 1906, it passed across the north end of Skull Valley within fifteen miles of Iosepa. Timpie Station was established for the convenience of the colonists. Although it was only a flag stop, a train would always stop whenever anyone wished it to do so. Freight and livestock could be brought to Timpie and then taken to the colony with less than half the previous effort. The railroad company furnished the materials and the colony furnished the labor to make corrals for livestock.<sup>32</sup> This made it much more convenient for the colonists.

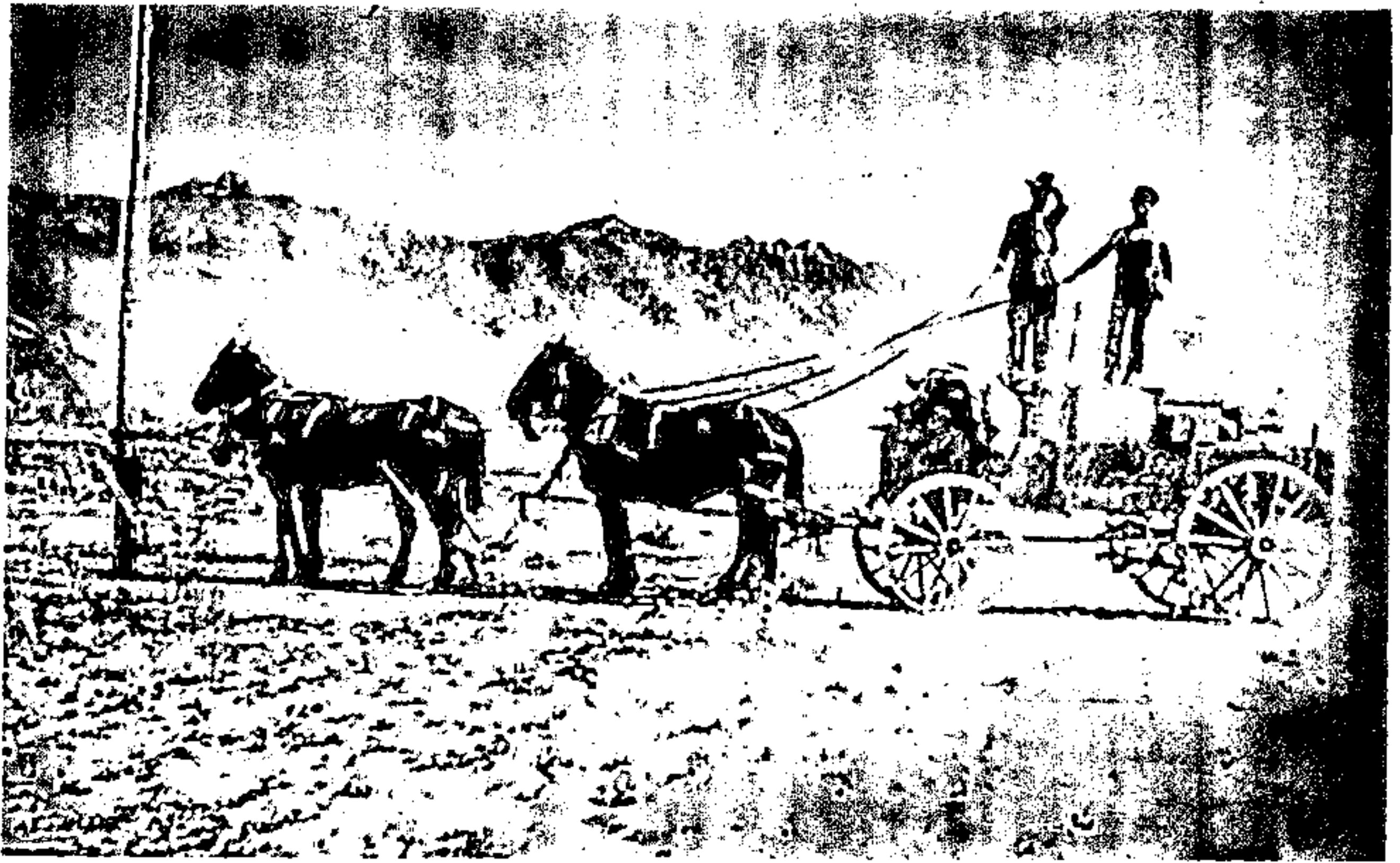
The Timpie Railroad Station also expedited the sending and receiving of mail. A stage coach line was established between Timpie and Iosepa that carried mail and passengers between the two points twice a week. Prior to the extension of the railroad, the Hawaiians used the Grantsville Post Office. They had to depend on occasional cowboys who were going one way or the other to post or bring mail in, or wait until someone in

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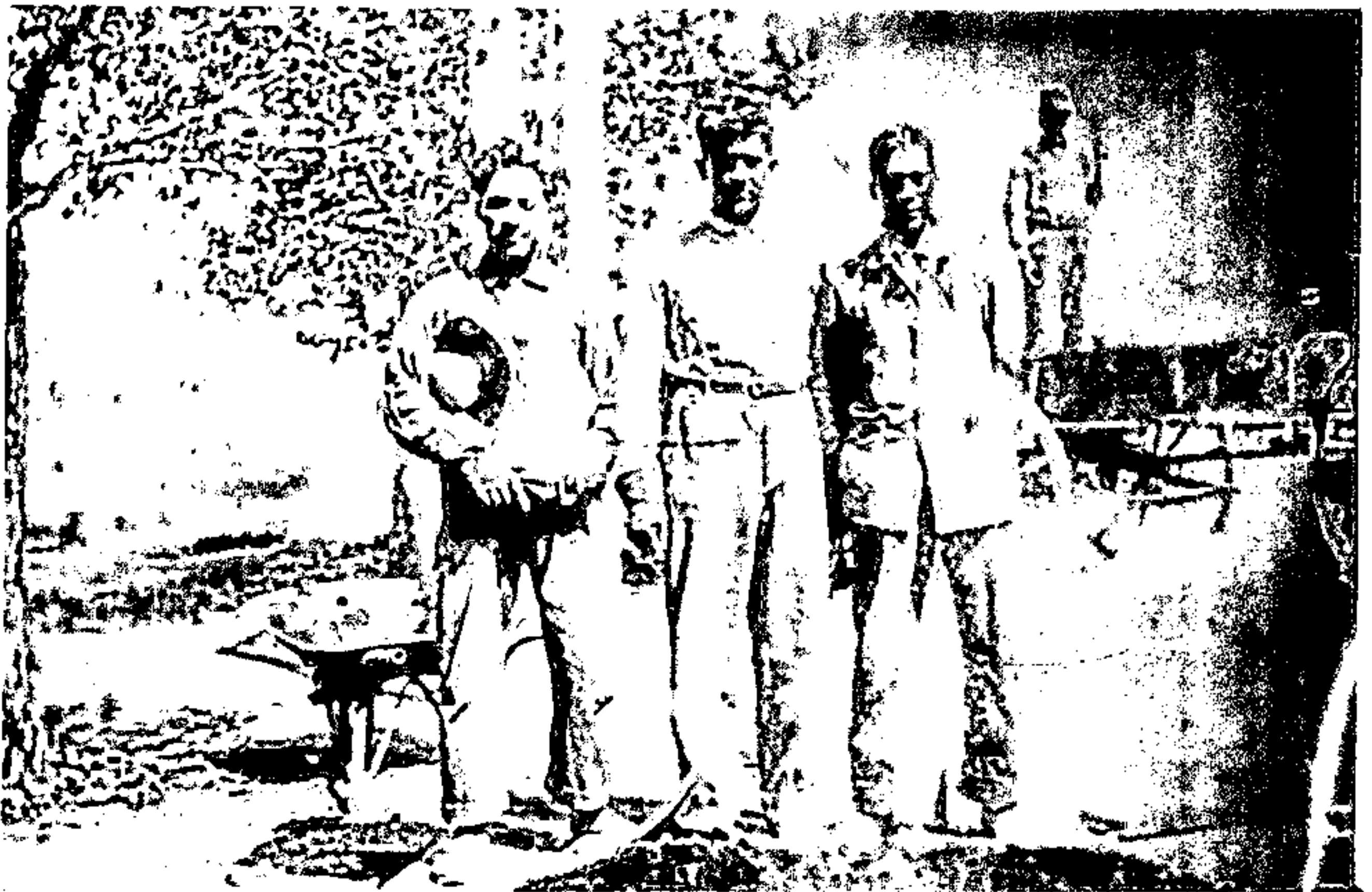
<sup>32</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.



## LABOR IN IOSEPA



Hauling goods from Timpie Station to Iosepa.



Mixing concrete for the sidewalk - John E. Broad, Archie Kennison, and William Pukahi, Sr.

the colony made the trip. A few years after Waddoups arrived, a post office was established at the Iosepa store with Waddoups as the postmaster.<sup>33</sup>

Long distance telephone services were extended to Iosepa from Timpie by the joint efforts of the colony and the Utah-Nevada Telephone Company. The company provided the material and the colonists furnished the labor.<sup>34</sup> Line breaks made it difficult to keep this line working. Mrs. Olivia Waddoups, wife of William, remembers many times when she and her husband would go up and down the line until they found the break. Then she would stand on the buggy and her husband would stand on her shoulders to repair the line.<sup>35</sup>

These added conveniences meant much to the colonists and made travel and communication much quicker and easier. Goods and services could be ordered by telephone now, making unnecessary a trip into Grantsville or Salt Lake City as was previously required. The coming of the automobile to Iosepa, however, made travel to Salt Lake City very easy. When Waddoups bought a 1914 Model A Ford in 1915 or 1916 and began to drive it out to Iosepa, he did not know how to drive; but he had mastered the art long before he arrived at his destination.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, August 30, 1957.

<sup>34</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, August 10, 1957.

<sup>35</sup>Interview with Mrs. Olivia Waddoups, April 8, 1958.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.



CHAPTER IV  
SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS  
OF THE COLONY

1. Population of the Colony

The population of the colony enjoyed a steady increase throughout its existence, the highest total number, including a few white people, being about 228 just before the Polynesians went back to the Islands. The increase came through the migration of Polynesian Church members directly to the colony. Usually, these groups came with Utah missionaries who had completed a mission to the Islands and were returning. By 1900 there were about 80 natives in the colony. In 1908 the Deseret Evening News reported the following breakdown: "about 100 Hawaiians, 13 Samoans, 6 Maoris, 1 Portugese, 5 half-caste Portugese, 3 families of Scotchmen and several families of English."<sup>1</sup> According to the United States Census there were 187 people in the Iosepa precinct in 1910.<sup>2</sup> No breakdown was given. In 1914 the Herald Republican reported Iosepa to be comprised of "150 Hawaiians, Samoans, Tahitians, Portugese and

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<sup>1</sup>Deseret Evening News, September 1, 1908, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>U. S., Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910. Population, III.

South Sea Island whites."<sup>3</sup> Their social and cultural affairs were as varied as its members.

## 2. The Role of the Church in the Social and Cultural Life of the Colony

The social and cultural life of the community evolved around the activities of the Church in most communities in Utah from the time of the settlement of the territory until at least the 1930's. To a lesser degree even today the Church plays an important role in the rural communities of Utah. Very few activities took place in early Utah that were not planned and sponsored by the Church. In Iosepa the Church was even more important in planning and carrying out various activities. A routine was soon established and each year the same general celebrations and activities took place. The most important celebrations included: (1) Hawaiian Pioneer Day, August 28th, (2) New Years, (3) Christmas and (4) Polynesian Day, which was observed each summer at some resort. Church conferences were held four times a year, and Church officials visited the colony very often.

## 3. Education

The education of the young people and old alike was not to be neglected in the new home. Soon after arriving there, Cluff made the following statement of educational policy:

A day school will be set in operation as soon as the people are properly located for winter when such class instruction to the more advanced male and female popula-

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<sup>3</sup>Herald Republican, August 31, 1914.



tion as will conduce to the improvement of the people socially, religiously, morally and in cleanliness will be given from time to time.<sup>4</sup>

During the summer of the next year, Cluff was directed to commence a day school and employ one of the Hawaiian men as a teacher at the same rate of pay as if he worked in the field. This first school was held in a one room log house next to the old Knowlton home and was used until a new school building was built in the townsite by the Tooele County school board after the turn of the century.<sup>5</sup>

Soon a teacher from outside the colony was employed to come in to teach the Iosepa pupils. The school consisted of eight grades meeting in a one room school with one teacher for all grades. The teacher lived with the president of the colony and so, quite naturally, the president found it desirable to get someone he knew. Accordingly, while Waddoups was in charge, his relatives were chosen to teach. Quite frequently an evening school was held for the young working men.

Some of the Hawaiian students were very adept in school and went on from Iosepa's school to distinguish themselves. Miss Kapalani Chung Lee graduated from Salt Lake High School, studied stenography and for a while was official stenographer for the First Presidency. Miss Nellie Josephs, a full blooded Samoan, went from the community school to the Brigham Young University where she led her class for three years. Charles

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<sup>4</sup>Utah Enquirer, November 5, 1889.

<sup>5</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 9, 1958.



Schwenke also went to the Brigham Young University where he quickly became a leader in oratory and debate.<sup>6</sup>

#### 4. Holidays and Celebrations

A. Hawaiian Pioneer Day, August 28.--With some deviation in keeping with needs or desires of the time, Pioneer Day was celebrated the same way each year. On the first Pioneer Day in 1890, President Wilford Woodruff offered a dedicatory prayer in English followed by one in the Hawaiian language by President Joseph F. Smith, then counselor in the First Presidency. President Woodruff at that time dedicated Skull Valley as a gathering place for the natives of the islands of the sea.<sup>7</sup>

The pioneer celebration of 1892 was a good example of the way in which the day came to be celebrated. This year, the Pioneer Day festivities were held on Friday and Saturday with Sunday the 28th being devoted to religious meetings. After all preparations had been made to welcome visitors who were going to attend the Hawaiian celebration, Samuel E. Wooley, who was in charge of Iosepa's cattle at that time, and several natives were dispatched with teams to conduct the invited guests the forty miles from the railroad station to Iosepa. Men with torches had been placed at intervals of three miles along the valley, since the visitors were expected to arrive after dark. As the visitors approached the torch bearer farthest from the

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<sup>6</sup>Herald Republican, September 5, 1915.

<sup>7</sup>Cluff, op. cit., pp. 51-52.



colony, they were welcomed by a burst of torch light. Each man lit his torch in succession as the wagons drew near until the last torch was finally lighted on the ridge close to town. This was the signal to light fires and fireworks around the liberty pole erected on the public square. The visitors praised the colonists for the beautiful display down through the valley.

Notable among the visitors were President Joseph F. Smith and three daughters, John T. Caine--Utah Territorial Delegate, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Davis, President and Mrs. Gowan of the Tooele Stake, Richard G. Lambert, Henry Branch, Mr. and Mrs. Enoch Farr, Robert B. T. Taylor, Henry P. Richards, Mr. and Mrs. Elihue Barrell and the Grantsville band, some of whom were accompanied by their wives. Other visitors from Grantsville and Tooele were a number of those who had assisted in bringing the Hawaiian Saints and their belongings to their new home three years before. When the seventy-five visitors were seated around tables that evening, the Iosepa Glee Club gave a concert.

Though a parade was usually held on the following day, this year there was none. Instead, a program was held in the morning and a Hawaiian feast in the afternoon. A concert was given again that night in which the Grantsville Brass Band participated.<sup>8</sup>

As a general rule many people participated in the annual parade. Included in these parades were a group of Indians

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-85.

living a few miles to the south who always joined in Iosepa's celebrations. Generally they lined up for the parade in somewhat the following order: first the band, then the First Presidency and visitors in carriages followed by a band of Indians with their wickiups on wheels, threshers, reapers, mowers, plows, rakes, wagons of grain and hay, with the citizens coming last on foot.<sup>9</sup> It was a happy time for all.

Feasts given at Iosepa were something to behold with delicacies to suit the taste and fancy of the native Hawaiians and also less exotic fare for those who preferred it. Poi was made in great quantities from wheat flour, as taro could not be grown or otherwise obtained. Several pigs were cooked underground in an imu with various vegetables. Poi and pork were generally served with "many kinds of pie, loads of delicious cake and rice pudding, plates of peaches and platters of grapes, raised in the gardens of the Hawaiians. . . ."10

On Sunday morning that 28th of August, 1892, a religious meeting was held. The speakers included President Joseph F. Smith, Henry P. Richards, William W. Cluff, John T. Caine, W. H. Branch, Richard G. Lambert, Robert B. T. Taylor, and President Cluff. More often than not such a religious meeting was held in connection with Pioneer Day. The speakers were different but the spirit was always the same. Some of the speeches were in English, others in Hawaiian.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>10</sup>Deseret Evening News, September 2, 1905, p. 9.



B. New Years celebration.--Hawaiians have a fine way of ringing out the old year and welcoming the new one, which was followed by the people in Iosepa. At about 10:00 p.m. all the members of the colony, both white and native, gathered to sing songs and make speeches. Just before midnight, all festivities stopped and prayers were offered as the old year passed and the new year began.<sup>11</sup> The prayers would be offered in both the Hawaiian tongue and in English. Festivities would then be resumed, continuing until the early hours of the morning and sometimes until daylight.

C. Christmas.--Christmas was usually celebrated by having a big tree in the school house or church house and presenting a special program. Sometimes presents were bought by the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company for each of the members.<sup>12</sup> At other times pigs or a beef animal were killed, and each member of the colony was given some meat.<sup>13</sup> At other times the natives prepared a supper for all the white people in the colony. It was always a joyful occasion with music, feasts and presents.

D. Polynesian Day.--Each summer the returned missionaries who had labored with the people of the Hawaiian Islands met at a summer resort (usually Lagoon, between Salt Lake City and Ogden) for a reunion. The people of Iosepa were often asked

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<sup>11</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 117.

to help prepare the food and to entertain with singing and dancing. A large number attended this reunion each year to renew old acquaintances and talk with those who had recently seen many of their loved ones in Hawaii.

### 5. Religious Life in the Colony

In general practice in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, a community such as Iosepa is organized as a ward and, along with perhaps six or eight other wards, make up a stake. The stake is headed by a president chosen by the general authorities. The stake president chooses two counselors and a clerk to assist him. These men comprise the stake presidency, and they choose twelve men who make up the high council. This entire group of men choose the other stake officers and a bishop to head each ward. At the ward level the bishop chooses two counselors and a clerk to assist him. These men, known as the ward bishopric, select the ward officers. All stake and ward officers are members of the respective wards or stake in which they serve.

When problems arise or aid is needed by an individual, the ward facilities are first called upon. If satisfaction cannot be received there, the ward officials appeal to the stake organization. When they cannot find a solution, the stake officials call upon the general authorities for aid.

Iosepa, however, held a unique position in the Church in that it was not a ward nor a part of any stake. It was called a Branch or a mission, and as such had a much closer



relationship to the general Church authorities. The president of the Iosepa Branch was selected by the First Presidency. The man selected had the full responsibility of the spiritual life of the people of the colony. Reports were filed directly with the First Presidency, and problems and requests for aid were always discussed with the general Church authorities. When conferences were held, representatives from the Church headquarters were assigned to meet with them. Special visits were made by the general Sunday School superintendent, his counselors and others. All or part of the First Presidency visited the colony at least once a year.<sup>14</sup>

The Iosepa Branch was organized with one of the white brethren serving as president, but most of the time the auxiliary organizations were manned by the native members. Regular church and auxiliary meetings were held in the colony just as in any other Utah Mormon community of that day. However, the songs, prayers and speeches were generally in the Hawaiian language as many of the older Hawaiians never learned English well. Church literature such as song books, Bibles, The Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants and Pearl of Great Price were available to them in the Hawaiian language. In some of the meetings such as Sunday School, a class taught in English was usually available.

A. Temple activities.--One of the main reasons that the Hawaiians came to Utah was to participate in special temple

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<sup>14</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, August 10, 1957.

ceremonies performed for their own salvation and for the salvation of their kindred dead. In 1892, as the Salt Lake Temple was nearing completion, the need for funds to finish construction became acute. Sunday, May 1, was set aside as a special fast day for the church and a day in which to collect donations for the temple. In Iosepa, the special meeting lasted from 10:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m., after which donations were taken with all the colonists participating. A total of fourteen hundred dollars was collected.<sup>15</sup>

Early the next year, the temple was completed, and a schedule was arranged for the saints of various areas to be admitted for the first time. April 9th was assigned to Iosepa. In preparation for this great and highly sacred event, many of the Hawaiian saints came to Cluff, confessed their sins, and wished to be rebaptized before entering the temple. This privilege was given to twenty-nine of them.<sup>16</sup>

They went to Salt Lake City a few days early to be in complete readiness to enter the temple on the appointed day. Various meetings were held where numerous returned missionaries spoke to them in their own language. President Cluff and Samuel E. Wooley conducted them through on the appointed day during which time George Q. Cannon, President Woodruff's first counselor, also addressed them in their own tongue. This was the great purpose for which they had left their island home and come

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<sup>15</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 78.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 102.



to the Rocky Mountains. Small wonder it is, then, that this was a day of great rejoicing among the Hawaiian Saints. As often as occasion permitted, the Hawaiians went into Salt Lake City to perform temple ordinances.

B. Visits from Church Officials.--In addition to the visits from the First Presidency, other Church officials visited the colony from time to time. Four times a year representatives from the headquarters of the Church were assigned to attend conferences in Iosepa. Quite often those assigned were former missionaries to the Islands. These were happy times, affording an opportunity for the Hawaiian Saints to show off their musical and dancing abilities, renew old acquaintances with the missionaries, and find out the latest news from the Islands.

Members of the General Superintendency of the L. D. S. Sunday Schools visited Iosepa several times. On one occasion, Superintendent George Goddard challenged the Hawaiians to a song contest. It was agreed that first he would sing a song, then the Hawaiians would sing a song, and then Goddard would sing another and so on until one or the other ran out of repertoire. The contest continued for a long time before Goddard had to give up.<sup>17</sup> Another time when Goddard visited the colony in November, he came in a huge polar bear skin coat. The coat made the children think that Goddard was Santa Claus who had arrived early and was making his rounds before Christmas. The

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 45.



strong affection with which Goddard was held by the Hawaiians is readily understandable.<sup>18</sup>

#### 6. Community Pride

The Hawaiians loved flowers and well-kept yards and gardens. Consequently, they had beautiful surroundings. The cleanliness of their town was well known. At various times they planted trees and shrubs. Soon after arriving in Iosepa, trees were planted out on the townsite. Arbor Day (April 20) 1899, was observed there by planting three hundred fruit trees, three hundred walnut trees and a hundred ornamental shade trees. The Davis County Nursery Company and the Pioneer Nursery each donated one hundred of the fruit trees.<sup>19</sup> Later, after Waddoups came to the colony, more trees and shrubs were planted. Yellow roses were also planted, some of which remain today in spite of the ruggedness of the land. In 1915 James H. Wallis, state inspector of farm and town sanitation, visited Iosepa for three days on his regular duties. In a very earnest address Wallis said that of all the many towns he had inspected this year, "Iosepa stood as a whole the very highest in cleanliness, both in the streets and yards and in the interiors."<sup>20</sup>

That same year the company offered prizes of \$50.00, \$15.00 and \$5.00 for the properties most commended for cleanli-

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<sup>18</sup>Deseret Evening News, August 28, 1908, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup>Deseret Evening News, April 17, 1899, p. 7.

<sup>20</sup>Herald Republican, September 5, 1915.



ness by Mr. Wallis. After inspection of all, John Broad's property was judged best with ninety-seven out of one-hundred points. Ben Hoopiaina was second with ninety-two points, and John Makakao was third with ninety points.<sup>21</sup>

## 7. Music Groups

The Hawaiians loved to sing and dance their native songs and dances and also the new ones learned in Utah. Singing groups and orchestras were available most of the time. Not only were their talents in demand in the colony, but their programs were greatly appreciated in surrounding communities. Whenever Church officials visited or feasts were held, their music was an important part of the proceedings, the music often continuing throughout the night.

Two organized music groups were in operation in Iosepa most of the time, performing at functions within the colony and, by invitation, in nearby towns. One was the glee club, a young men's choral group; and the other, the Iosepa Troubadors, was an orchestra consisting of various native and American instruments. Toward the end of the colony William Kahana, Joseph Bird and James Bird formed an orchestra, left the colony and went east to try their luck in the professional entertainment world. They were very successful until James Bird contracted tuberculosis and died. The group was no longer complete, but

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

## IOSEPA HAWAIIAN TROUBADOURS



Seated: George Alapa (face faded) - second violinist, John E. Broad - orchestra leader, William Pukahi - cello player. Back row: Moses Alapa - tenor banjo, John Makakau - guitar player and treasurer of club, David Makuilima - guitar, Maggie K. Broad - vocalist, Abraham Nahulu - first guitar, Henry K. Nawahine, Sr. - ukulele player and manager of orchestra, John Kealoha Pauole - mandolin.



Kahana and Joseph Bird continued playing in different orchestras most of their lives.<sup>22</sup> One might expect that the Iosepa orchestra would break up, but others stepped in and took their place; and although they all three had beautiful voices, they were hardly missed. Nearly all the men and many of the women played instruments and sang well.

#### 8. Sports and Trips

In Iosepa the Hawaiians enjoyed good, vigorous, competitive sports such as foot races, obstacle races, boxing and wrestling. John Broad had a home-made gym in his basement where many happy hours were spent.<sup>23</sup> Baseball was played frequently during celebrations with the Hawaiian boys opposing a team composed of white boys and the Indian boys who lived a few miles south. At other times, the married Hawaiian men played opposite the single men. Marbles was such a favorite game that occasionally they played all day when they should have been working.

During the long winter months when there was not much work to do, the colonists had good times with various indoor activities as well as sleigh riding, ice skating, and other outdoor activities. The nearby shepherders and Indians came in to participate in the fun, especially when the orchestra played

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<sup>22</sup>Interview with Mrs. Olivia Waddoups, May 9, 1958.

<sup>23</sup>John Broad, interview by Edwin Kamaoha in Hawaii, March, 1958.

## JOHN BROAD HOME



Basement was a community center for recreational activities.



for dances. The winters were also times for instruction in farming methods by white men in charge of the colony.

In the summer, when they had time, the Hawaiians loved to fish and swim in the ponds near by. Cluff planted carp in some of these ponds. The hawaiians grew very proficient at catching them with their hands. This was done by sneaking up behind the fish and stroking them along sides until the hand of the Hawaiian got to their gills when they grabbed the fish.<sup>24</sup> Trips into the nearby hills for picnics and horseback riding were also enjoyed. Whenever the opportunity presented itself, they went into Salt Lake City for shopping which was always a welcome change.

Thus, it may be seen that although the people were isolated, they had many happy times and were never lacking for activities in their social and religious life.

#### 9. Medical and Health Problems

A. Sickness.--"With the cemetary growing faster than the town," according to one writer who treated the subject, "it is little wonder that the Islanders at last lost heart."<sup>25</sup> From this it would seem that sickness and death were important reasons for the Hawaiians returning to the Islands. This is an exaggeration, however, since in the ten year period from 1907 to 1916 a total of forty-eight babies were blessed in the

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<sup>24</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, October 8, 1957.

<sup>25</sup>Nell Murbarger, Ghosts of the Glory Trail, (Desert Magazine Press, Palm Desert, California. 1956), p. 200.



Church while twenty-nine people died; and for the six year period from 1911 to 1916, thirty-five were blessed while seventeen died. With new immigrants coming to Iosepa from the Islands from time to time, it becomes apparent that the colony continued to have a steady increase and that the problem of health and sickness has been over emphasized.

Although over emphasized, sickness was a problem. The nearest doctor lived in Grantsville and was very expensive to call on for aid. He was only summoned for the most serious cases. The rest of the time the colonists had to rely upon faith and prayers plus what home doctoring was known to them. The white women and the native ladies served as nurses, rendering what aid they could. Some of the natives made very good midwives, an art they learned through practice.

During Waddoups' administration there were numerous illnesses. Of this Waddoups has the following to say:

The natives had diseases, but there was no doctor closer than Grantsville, so the nature of the ailments, other than the well-known ones, was never determined. There was an epidemic of smallpox which resulted in the death of three good members. Mrs. Waddoups served as a nurse in the more serious illnesses, and helped the natives as much as she could.<sup>26</sup>

The smallpox epidemic mentioned by Waddoups was brought into Iosepa in 1913 when two Hawaiian boys who were going to school in Grantsville came home for a vacation, and while there, came down with smallpox. It spread quickly, but a doctor was

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<sup>26</sup>Thomas A. Waddoups, "The Iosepa Colony and The Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company," an unpublished article dated December, 1956. A copy is on file at the Brigham Young University, pp. 4-5.



summoned who vaccinated the entire colony. Waddoups was one of the victims of this disease; but through proper quarantine and isolation, he kept from communicating it to the rest of his family and in about two weeks was out working again.

The native women gave birth to their children attended only by their own midwives, but generally the wives of the presiding men went to other communities to bear children where they could be attended by a physician. Excitement reigned in Iosepa on the night of May 5th when Mrs. Cluff gave birth to a son, Jay Robert, before he was expected. As soon as conditions indicated that the baby was to arrive earlier than expected, James Halemanu was dispatched to Grantsville to get a doctor. When he did not make it in time, Mrs. Cluff was attended by three native women somewhat versed in the art of midwifery. What the native ladies did not know they tried to make up in faith and prayers. After a three hour ordeal during which Mrs. Cluff was not expected to live, her son was born safely. As soon as the baby was born, another man was dispatched who met the doctor and sent him home. The doctor charged twenty dollars although he had come only ten miles and rendered no service.

Pneumonia was the greatest killer during the life of the colony. Other diseases that were known to have caused death were smallpox and diptheria. Other illnesses such as "La Grippe" caused much loss of work.



With the improvements in transportation and communication as discussed in the last chapter, problems of sickness and disease became less significant. Improvements in medical science also played a part in overcoming these problems.

B. Leprosy.--Leprosy came to the Hawaiian Islands by way of the Chinese not long after Captain Cook discovered the islands. In fact the Hawaiian word for leprosy is mai pake which literally means "Chinese sick" or "Chinese sickness." Unfortunately, the number of Hawaiians who contracted the disease increased until by the reign of King Kamehameha the problem was deemed serious enough that the northern part of Molokai was set aside as a leper colony. Those who contracted the disease were sent to Molokai where they stayed until they died. The Hawaiian government furnished them with the necessities of life.<sup>27</sup> Missionaries from various churches did all they could to make things as bearable as possible for them.

Quite likely, two or three of the Hawaiian Mormons brought the disease in an inactive state over with them. At any rate, several of the Hawaiians were stricken with the malady which created quite a stir among their white neighbors who were generally completely unfamiliar with the disease. Many people still believe leprosy was the main reason for discontinuing the colony.<sup>28</sup> Partly in refutation of this, a com-

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<sup>27</sup>Salt Lake Herald, June 20, 1896.

<sup>28</sup>Honolulu newspaper clipping in possession of author (source not at present available.)



plete history of leprosy in Iosepa is included in this thesis. For understandable reasons, the names of those who contracted the disease are not included.

The first case of leprosy occurred before the Hawaiians left Salt Lake City and was undoubtedly one of the reasons for getting them out of the city.<sup>29</sup> The wife of one of the prominent Hawaiians died of leprosy while still in Salt Lake City. Soon after moving to Iosepa, this man and another lady desired to marry, but Cluff and the Church officials advised against it. These men did not approve of the marriage because of the likelihood that the man would contract leprosy and pass it on to his second wife. The young lady was persistent, however, and prevailed upon the presiding brethren to consent to the marriage. The truthfulness and value of the advice given in this case was born out not long after the marriage when the man came down with leprosy. He died a few years later, and his second wife contracted the disease soon after his death and within a few years she died also.<sup>30</sup>

In June of 1896, the leprosy problem came to the fore again when the Salt Lake Tribune reported that "The spread of leprosy in the Kanaka [Hawaiian] settlement in Skull Valley has so excited the people of Tooele County that the county court has decided to take steps to quarantine the lepers and prevent

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<sup>29</sup>Cluff, op. cit., p. 250.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

the spread of the disease."<sup>31</sup> The excitement was caused when a young couple of the colony contracted the disease, and petitions were made to the county court recommending that afflicted persons be quarantined in suitable quarters. The court responded by appointing Cluff, S. W. Wooley of Grantsville and Dr. F. M. Davis of Tooele City as a committee to investigate the situation and report back to the court.

Before this committee could get their work done, the Salt Lake Herald sent a reporter out to Tooele County to investigate the situation and write an informative article. This man did not seek out people who knew about the disease or the situation, but picked up rumors from people who had gained their knowledge by hearsay. When he went out to Iosepa, he did not tell the people what his mission was or what he wanted to know. When his article appeared in the newspaper, it took up over half of the front page,<sup>32</sup> and the leprosy problem was reported completely disproportionate to the actual facts.

The committee appointed to investigate was very thorough in perusal of the charge, examining each person in the colony to determine who might have the disease and to what extent. On the twenty-fourth, the committee, with Dr. Davis, a medical doctor doing the writing, made the following report:

On June 21st, the committee. . .examined each individual in the colony and found three pronounced cases of leprosy

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<sup>31</sup>Salt Lake Tribune, June 4, 1896, p. 7.

<sup>32</sup>Salt Lake Herald, June 20, 1896, p. 1.



. . . .We consider further the report published in the Herald June 20th as sensational and overdrawn. . . .

The three lepers above described will be quarantined as soon as possible to erect a suitable hospital for this purpose. Until that time they are instructed to keep apart from those affected and this will be enforced as much as possible.<sup>33</sup>

Shortly after this, a one story frame house of a number of rooms was built in a field some distance from the townsite where the three lepers were isolated. Beside the hospital a flag pole was erected; and when anything was needed at the hospital, a flag was hoisted. The spouse of one of the lepers would then go to see what was needed.<sup>34</sup> In this way, things were made as comfortable as possible for those who contracted the disease.

In the early part of 1899, a Dr. Lowell came to Iosepa claiming to have a cure for leprosy. Permission was given for him to try his cure on those in the hospital. So anxious were the Mormon leaders to see that all relief possible was given those in the hospital that they recommended that Cluff pay for any medications Dr. Lowell might need. All this, however, was in vain for by the end of the year 1900 all those in the hospital had died and the hospital was closed down. T. A. Waddoups reports that after he came to Iosepa, the hospital was never used. Finally, one of the natives purchased the building and moved it up to the townsite as a dwelling. During the time from 1901 to 1917, there were two or three slight cases of

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<sup>33</sup> Salt Lake Tribune, June 25, 1896, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 9, 1958.

leprosy, but not sufficient to be hospitalized or isolated for the protection of others.<sup>35</sup>

Waddoups said further that to his knowledge there was no excitement in regards to leprosy in the colony during his administration at the colony and that the problem, if it was a problem, had nothing to do with the closing of the project.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, if leprosy would have caused Iosepa to be closed down, it should have been when the excitement was greatest, not twenty years later and about fifteen years after the lepers had died.

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.



## CHAPTER V

### THE CLOSING OF IOSEPA

Conditions in Iosepa changed greatly during the twenty-eight years of its existence. When the original pioneers arrived and for a number of years thereafter, they were isolated and did not enjoy the finer things of life. They had all been transplanted into an environment and life alien to that which they had been accustomed. Many of the things they had been used to doing and eating were now unavailable to them. They had to be satisfied with many substitutes. The great redeeming factor to them was the fact that they were participating in the great gathering movement of their Church and were near a temple wherein sacred ordinances for themselves and their dead ancestors could be performed. Great sacrifices were made easier with the realization of the fact that they were obeying the will of the Lord.

As the years passed, transportation and communications improved, and the colonists made the necessary adjustments and adaptations. Gradually unpleasant aspects were improved until by 1910 Iosepa was enjoying cultural aspects of life comparable to any other community of its size in Utah. By 1917, when the colony was closed, very few of the original pioneers were left.

Many had been born in Iosepa and knew no other life than that in the colony.

Why, then, was the Iosepa colony abandoned and why did most of the Islanders make the long trip back to the home of their ancestors? The four reasons put forth most frequently include: (1) leprosy was so bad that it became necessary to close the colony down; (2) financially, the venture was so unsuccessful that the Church could not continue to support it; (3) sickness, other than leprosy, took so many lives it was deemed best to send the Polynesians back to their native environment; and (4) the nature of the climate and working conditions was so undesirable as to make the participants desirous of returning to the Islands.

Each of these had at the same time been more or less of a problem, but had gradually been overcome until none of the above reasons or no combination of them could have been the major factor in causing the colony to be abandoned and the colonists to return to Hawaii. It is true that leprosy had been a knotty problem for a few years during the 1890's but had been no problem at all since the turn of the century.<sup>1</sup> Financial problems, too, had been encountered. For years the project lost money for the Church; but with the feeding of more cattle and sheep at the colony and with the opening of a store, the project had paid its way for a number of years.<sup>2</sup> The water

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<sup>1</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 5, 1958.

<sup>2</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 30, 1958.



system was costly, but this should have been a factor causing the project to be prolonged to pay off the improvement, had financial reasons been a factor. The effect of other illnesses has been greatly over-emphasized; and with the improvement of medical science plus facilities that made transportation and communication faster, sickness and disease was more easily kept under control. By the time Iosepa was closed down the people had become accustomed to the climate and way of life in Iosepa. Many of the colonists had lived all or most of their lives there and knew no other way of life or region. Therefore, to repeat none of the above nor any combination of the same could reasonably be construed to be the important reason for closing Iosepa. Had this been the case, the closing would have come by 1900 because thereafter none of these problems were bad enough to cause much trouble.

The actual closing came as the natural result of the following circumstances. In 1915, President Joseph F. Smith, after returning from one of his frequent trips to the Hawaiian Islands, announced that the Church was going to build a temple at Laie, Oahu. When this was announced to the Hawaiians, some of them said simply that they were going back. Waddoups had been told by President Smith that if any of the Hawaiians wished to return to the Islands, it was agreeable with the Church for them to do so and that the Church would pay such transportation expenses as the individual colonists could not afford to pay. Waddoups knows of no time when the Church officials advised the colonists as a group to return. The decision was left up to



the individuals, but the Church would help those return who wished to do so. It was advised, however, that those who left Iosepa should go to a place where a Church mission was well established.<sup>3</sup>

Soon a group was ready to leave. Their personal property was sold back to the company at a price arrived at by two disinterested persons. If this did not provide enough money to buy passage back to the Islands, the Church made up the difference. T. A. and William Waddoups made arrangements for those who left.<sup>4</sup> Some of the colonists did not wish to leave Iosepa but once the movement got under way, all were swept with it. Ella Brunt Kamauoha said that her husband, John Kamauoha, now deceased, did not wish to go back to Hawaii, but did so under the advice of President Smith who said that perhaps the next prophet would not have the same "Aloha" for the Polynesians as he had. Kamauoha was in one of the last groups to leave, returning to the islands in January, 1917.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the advice given to Kamauoha was given after many others had left and the authorities could see difficulty ahead if they continued to operate the colony after all but a few had returned.

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<sup>3</sup>The Iosepa Colony and Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Co., op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>4</sup>Interview with T. A. Waddoups, April 9, 1958.

<sup>5</sup>Interview, Ella Brunt Kamauoha to Edwin Kamauoha, in Hawaii, March, 1958.



Suffice it to say that several of the remaining colonists also said that President Smith advised them to go back.<sup>6</sup>

To the Hawaiians there were some considerations that made going back to the Islands less difficult. It would be easier to collect the genealogy necessary to do ordinance work in the temple in the Islands as that was where the records could be found. A temple was being built for their people, and they wished to participate and do all they could towards building and sustaining it. They had participated in the great gathering movement and had established a thriving colony in Utah. This colony was built in one of the most forbidding areas of Utah.

Even after returning to the Islands, some of the colonists were disappointed in conditions there and wished they were back in Utah.<sup>7</sup> In fact some of them say even now that if the colony was reopened, they would be happy to return.<sup>8</sup>

None of the Hawaiians were left to help harvest the crops in the summer of 1917, so Waddoups had to hire white men to assist him in the harvest. That fall the ranch, including the townsite, was sold to the Desert Livestock Company for

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<sup>6</sup>Interview, John Broad to Edwin Kamaoha, in Hawaii, March, 1958.

<sup>7</sup>The Iosepa Colony and the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Co., op. cit., p. 6.

<sup>8</sup>Interview, John Broad to Edwin Kamaoha, in Hawaii March, 1958.

\$150,000.00<sup>9</sup> and remains an integral part of their holdings today. The last payment was made in 1924.

Today there is very little left on the townsite to remind us of one of the most unique settlements in all the history of the building of the west. Soon after the Hawaiians moved away, the school house and church house were both torn down and the material reused. Most of the houses were torn down or moved away. A stranger passing through the once proud community of Iosepa a few years after the Hawaiians had left would have had difficulty imagining the beauty which had so recently been there.

The Hawaiians had a hard fight, but they were successful. Their victory had been complete, then they went back to their native Islands and helped build the temple, chapels and now a church college at Laie. Many of them became the most stalwart members of the Church in their respective areas. Those who are fortunate enough to be the descendents of these Polynesian Utah pioneers could well be proud of their ancestors who took their place among the pioneers of other countries in gathering to the "tops of the mountains" in the last days.

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<sup>9</sup>Deseret Evening News, November 1, 1917, p. 12.



## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

From its very beginning, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints sent missionaries first to various parts of the United States and then to foreign countries to gain adherents to the faith. The spirit of the gathering impelled many of these converts to migrate to Utah. Among those were many of the Hawaiian Mormons. At first they were not permitted by their government to leave their Islands, and a gathering place was established there. In a few years the laws were modified so they could leave and a few began to come as opportunity presented itself. By 1889 about seventy-five Hawaiians had migrated to Utah and were living in the northwest part of Salt Lake City.

The Hawaiians were very happy to come to Utah where they could participate in the building of the Salt Lake Temple and upon its completion perform ordinances they considered necessary for the salvation of themselves and their kindred dead. In Utah they were close to the headquarters of the Church and to the Church leaders. In Utah many things were different from that to which they were accustomed. The food, work, language, climate, recreation and other customs of their Caucasian neighbors were all very different, and the differences

raised barriers between the two groups. When seeking employment the Hawaiians were at a disadvantage as they were unskilled in the trades and professions needed in the area. Culturally and socially they remained marginal individuals. Overcoming the cultural shock caused by a transfer to new environment takes decades, often generations.

While the Hawaiians were in Salt Lake City, the unskilled Hawaiian laborers could obtain only the lowest paying and least desirable employment, such as seasonal crop harvesting and hard manual labor. They were often unemployed. The plight of the Hawaiians demanded a solution. After due consideration the First Presidency of the Church deemed it best to find a suitable area for a colony where the Hawaiians could work and live by themselves.

In May, 1889, the First Presidency appointed a committee of three former Hawaiian missionaries to select a suitable place for the Polynesian settlement. This committee, with the help of a committee of three Hawaiians, selected the ranch of John Rich located in Skull Valley, Tooele County, about seventy-five miles west of Salt Lake City.

The Church authorities, desiring to help the Hawaiians but being unable because of legislative enactments to do so as a church, organized a private corporation to purchase and hold property for the colony. This company, the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company, was incorporated under the laws of the Territory of Utah by members of the Church. It was the Church,



however, that paid for the colony's holdings and supplied the company and colonists with needed aid throughout the twenty-eight years of its existence. The Hawaiians were employed by the company to work the ranch on a wage basis. A townsite was laid out and lots were sold or rented to the colonists. Aid was given the Hawaiians by the company in building their homes.

Iosepa, the Hawaiian word for Joseph, was the name given the colony. This was in honor of Joseph F. Smith, sixth president of the Church, who spent many years in the Hawaiian Islands as a missionary and always had a paternal love for the Polynesians.

At Iosepa an ecclesiastical organization unique in the Church was maintained. The colony remained under the direct responsibility of the First Presidency with a president appointed by them to preside over the colonists. Nothing of fundamental importance was done without first discussing it with the First Presidency. The leader of Iosepa held a unique dual position as president of the Church organization of the colony and manager of the company. As such he was in charge of both the financial and spiritual affairs of the settlement. Although he was chosen as president of the colony by the Church authorities and as manager of the company by the company's board of directors, this dual authority was always vested in one man.

Iosepa was an interesting combination of Hawaiian and western frontier characteristics. Some of the activities carried on in the settlement were unlike the activities of other

Utah communities and grew to be different from community activities in the Islands. In time the members became almost a people without a country. Many of them had never been to the Islands and were unacquainted with the Hawaiian way of life. Still their customs were different in many ways from customs of others in the area.

Throughout the history of the colony the Church expended money for its support and for improvements as such were needed. New lands were purchased, an irrigation and culinary water system was installed and new colonists were helped in building their homes. Only after about eighteen years did the company begin to show a profit. Profits made during the last ten years of the colony's operation were invariably left with the company for the benefit of the colonists.

During the first few years of the colony disease, especially leprosy, was a problem. Before the Hawaiians became acclimated to their new home, they were susceptible to a number of illnesses; and with the nearest doctor thirty miles away, they had to rely on many home remedies. Gradually, as they became more accustomed to their surroundings, sicknesses became less frequent. Transportation and communication improvements made the services of a doctor more accessible. Some of the colonists contracted leprosy in the middle 1890's, causing much excitement in the surrounding area. A doctor, claiming to have a cure for leprosy, treated the lepers but to no avail.



By 1900 all of the lepers had died and no other case of the dread malady was sufficiently serious to warrant concern.

Holidays such as Hawaiian Pioneer Day (August 18th), New Years and Christmas were celebrated in the colony each year with appropriate feasts, songs, speeches and prayers. The Hawaiians were excellent musicians and their talents were appreciated by residents of the surrounding communities as well as the colonists. They were asked to perform in other settlements from time to time. Their music was an entertaining mixture of Hawaiian and native Utah songs.

One of the major reasons for the Polynesians coming to Utah was to perform sacred ordinances in the Salt Lake Temple. When the Church officials announced that a temple would soon be built at Laie, Oahu, for the Polynesian saints, many of the colonists decided to return to the Islands. There they could have access to records containing the genealogy and perform ordinances in the temple also. Some, however, were not happy at the prospect of leaving their mountain home, but once the movement to go back was under way, all but one family decided to go. The Church helped purchase passage for those who could not afford the fare back to Hawaii.

The Desert Livestock Company purchased the lands and livestock held by the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company in the fall of 1917 for \$150,000.00. Most of the buildings were torn down or hauled away. Soon, about all that was left of this colony was a memory--a memory that is still held by many resi-



dents of the nearby area. Probably remembered best are the feasts and entertainments given so freely by their Polynesian brothers.

Thus ended one of the most unique experiments in the settling of the west. It lasted for twenty-eight years and had a population varying from fifty members in the beginning to 228 at its peak. The Polynesians came to Utah for specific reasons: (1) to participate in the gathering movement, (2) to be near the center of the Church, and (3) to perform ordinances in the Salt Lake Temple. They went back to their native Islands for specific reasons: (1) a temple was to be built for them in Hawaii, (2) they wished to participate in its building and perform ordinance work therein, and (3) genealogical records were available to them there so they could seek out their ancestors.

There are those who have asserted that Iosepa was a failure. Some believe that the Church abandoned the colony and sent the Polynesians home. They claim that leprosy, other sickness, financial problems or an alleged failure of the Hawaiians to become acclimated to the area forced its closure. These, to be sure, were each problems, but problems that had been substantially solved years before the colony was closed. If any one or a combination of these reasons had forced abandonment of the colony, it would have taken place by the turn of the century, not after they had been overcome.

The colony was a success. It served its purpose. For the last ten or more years it had been a financial success



although this was a secondary consideration for the Church. The people of the Polynesian Islands had participated in the gathering movement and were privileged to do temple ordinances many years before a temple was built for them in the Islands. The colonists had learned much about the Church and its activities. Many, upon their return, became leaders and helped strengthen the Church there.

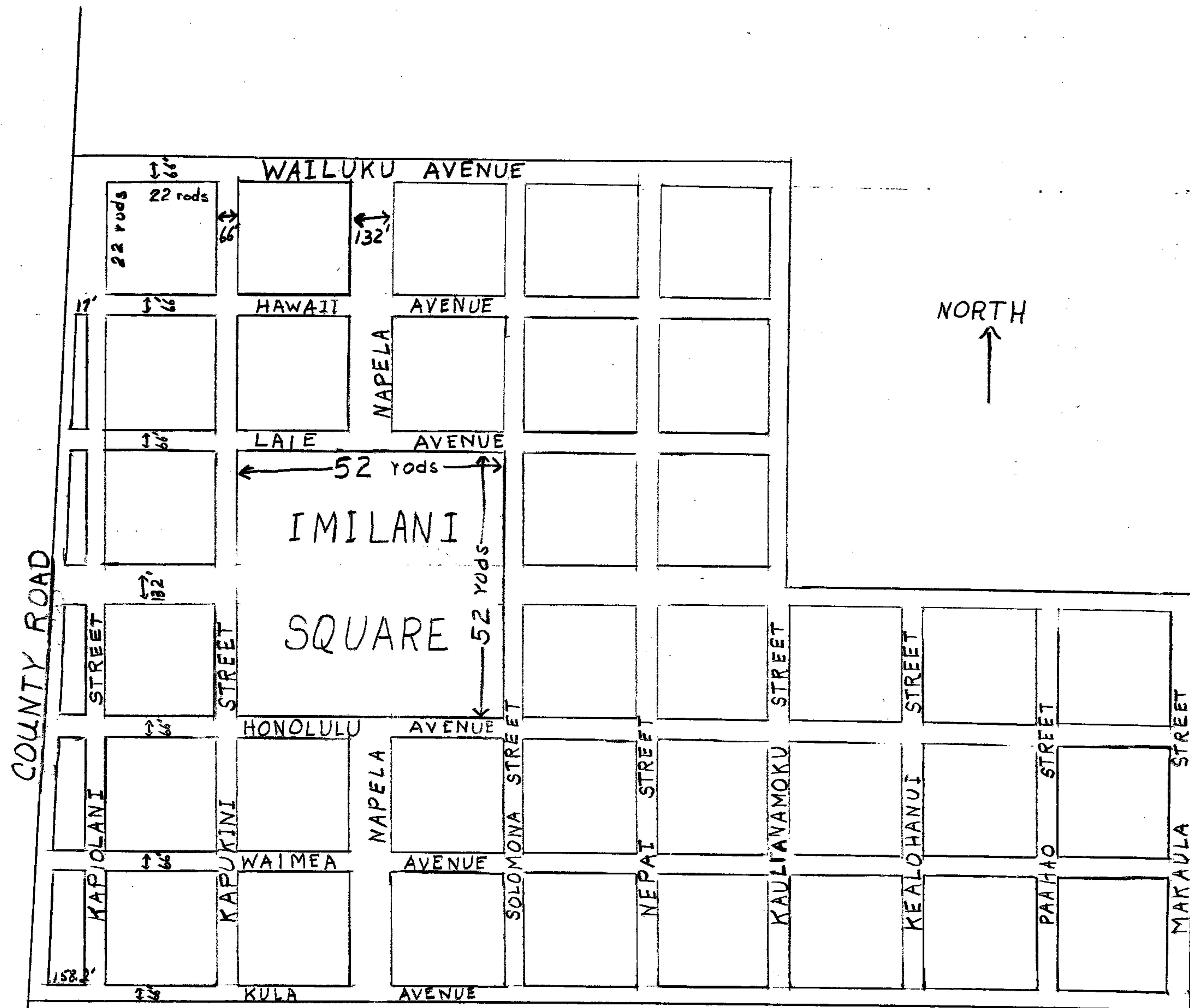
## APPENDIX A

List of persons arriving in Iosepa August 28, 1889, as  
recorded in the H. H. Cluff Diary, page 31:

H. H. Cluff	Viola Kekuku (daughter)
F. A. Mitchell	Edwin Kekuku (son)
Elihue Barell	Peter Kealakaihouna
Frank W. Marchant	Kahiana Kealakaihouna (wife)
F. M. Lyman, Jr.	Pelekane Kealakaihouna (son)
J. W. Kaulainamoku	Peteropio Kealakaihouna (son)
Kapukini Kaulainamoku (wife)	N. Pomaikai
John Makaula	Piipiilani Solamona
Maria Makaula (wife)	Moses Solamona
Kapela	Makaopiopio (widow)
Charles Naau	William Coles (white man)
Jane Naau (wife)	John Mahunalii
Emily S. Naau	Victoria Mahunalii (wife)
Haiki	Elizabeth Mahunalii (daughter)
Moke Kalima	Kalawai
Oliva Alapa	Kapainui (wife)
Joseph Kekuku	J. K. N. Mahoe
Miliama Kekuku (wife)	Hanah Mahoe (wife)
Hattie Kekuku (daughter)	Lucy Mahoe (daughter)
Ivy Kekuku (daughter)	David Mokuilima



Hookaia Mokuilima (wife)	James Halemanu (son)
Mary Mokuilima (daughter)	<u>                    </u> Napela
David Mokuilima (son)	Mochaho Napela (wife)
John Makakao	Hattie Napela (daughter)
Lucy E. Makakao (wife)	George Kamakaniau
Joseph Kekuku	Kealohaniu Kamakaniau (wife)
W. K. Halemanu	George W. Niau
Ellen Halemanu (wife)	Harvey Alapa



Iosepa Townsite Plat



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**A HISTORY OF IOSEPA,  
THE UTAH POLYNESIAN COLONY**

**An Abstract of  
A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Department of History  
Brigham Young University  
Provo, Utah**

**In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts in History**

**by  
Dennis H. Atkin  
August, 1958**

## ABSTRACT

The first missionaries of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints went to Hawaii in 1850. As native converts joined the Church, many desired to gather in Utah with converts from other parts of the world, in order to perform Church ordinances in the temples located there. Until about 1870, Hawaiians were prohibited by their government from leaving the Islands permanently. As the laws were relaxed they came to Utah a few at a time with returning missionaries until by 1889 about seventy-five were living in Salt Lake City.

Cultural and social problems arose causing the Church officials to decide to locate all the Polynesians in one place by themselves. Under the direction of the First Presidency of the Mormon Church a committee of three former Hawaiian missionaries and three natives selected the ranch of John Rich in Skull Valley, Tooele County, Utah as the site for a Polynesian colony. A Church-controlled corporation was established to purchase and hold the colony's properties. The Polynesians were hired to work on the ranch.

A townsite was laid out, lots were sold and homes were built for the colonists. The colony was named Iosepa, in honor of the sixth president of the Church, Joseph F. Smith, who had served as a missionary among the Hawaiians and was solicitous of their welfare.



For the first decade, the company operated at a loss due to the financial difficulties of the 1890's. Gradually financial conditions improved, the company began to feed more livestock, a store was opened and then Iosepa began to realize a profit.

At first Iosepa was isolated from other Utah communities. The only way in or out of the colony was by foot or horses. Its post office was in Grantsville, about thirty miles to the northeast. In 1906 the Western Pacific Railroad Company built a line through Utah passing through Timpie, fifteen miles north of Iosepa. A stagecoach line was established between Timpie and the colony and mail services were extended to the settlement. About the same time, a long distance telephone line gave the colonists a means of rapid communication with the outside world. By about 1910 the Hawaiians were enjoying as many of the amenities of modern life as any other Utah community its size.

Ecclesiastically Iosepa held a unique position in the Church. As a mission branch, all its reports went directly to the First Presidency. Religious leadership was vested in a returned Hawaiian missionary. Hawaiian members usually served as officers in the auxiliary organizations.

Leprosy and various illnesses caused some concern in the colony, but by 1900 the lepers had died. As doctors became more attainable and as the Hawaiians became more acclimated, problems of sickness decreased.

In 1915 the Church announced that a temple was to be built at Laie, Hawaii. Upon hearing this some of the Hawaiians announced that they were returning to the Islands. Soon the movement to return was under way and all were swept with it. By 1917 all had returned to the Islands but one family which remained in Salt Lake City. That fall the Desert Livestock Company purchased the Iosepa property and Utah's Polynesian colony ceased to exist.

Some have asserted that leprosy, other sickness, financial failure or failure of the Polynesians to become acclimated to the area caused the failure and closing of the colony. Each one of these problems was overcome years before the colony's end. The colony was a success. It had been established for a purpose; when its purpose was fulfilled it ceased to exist.

*Paul V. Hyer*

*Robert E. Riggs*